THE PARLIAMENT OF NEW ZEALAND AND PARLIAMENT HOUSE

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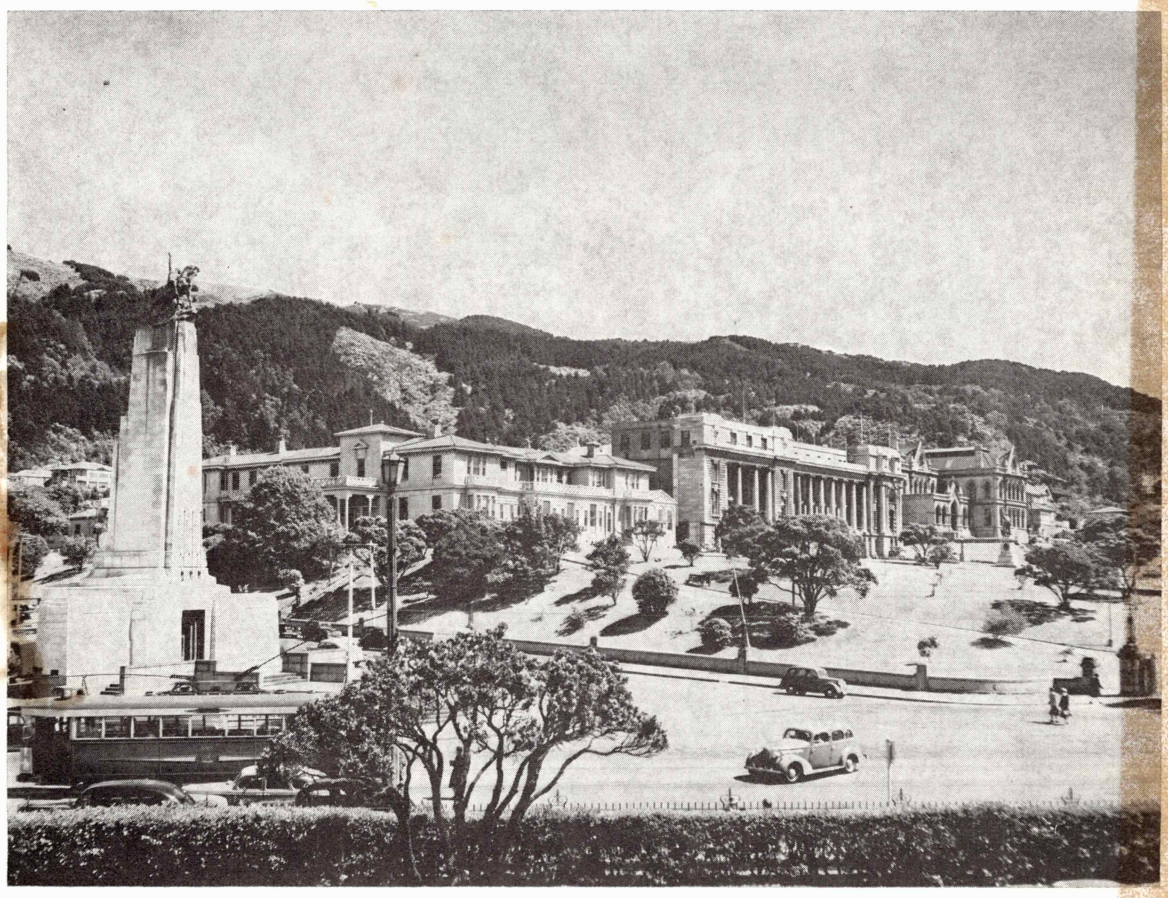

Parliament House grounds (1953). A public reserve of 8¼ acres set aside for parliamentary purposes. Cenotaph in left foreground and Tinakori Hills in background. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

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THE PARLIAMENT OF NEW ZEALAND AND PARLIAMENT HOUSE

THIS BOOKLET IS PRESENTED TO YOU WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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First Edition 1954
Revised Edition 1964
Revised Edition 1973

328

Printed in 10/12 point Baskerville "Monotype"

88/93

I. THE PARLIAMENT

Introductory

With the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840, and the declaration of British sovereignty by Captain Hobson later in that year, the islands of New Zealand formally became part of the British Empire. They were discovered by Abel Tasman in 1642 and rediscovered by Captain Cook in 1769, but it was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that European colonisation began. In 1814 the Reverend Samuel Marsden arrived to establish the first Christian mission at Bay of Islands. In 1833 James Busby assumed at Waitangi the office of British Resident.

For some years before 1840 New Zealand had been regarded as an appendage of the Colony of New South Wales. It was so officially until 1841, when it was erected into a separate Colony governed from London. That position continued practically until 1854, the Governor being appointed by the Queen and receiving his instructions from the Colonial Office.

In the early days Captain Hobson was assisted by an Executive Council of three officials, also appointed from London—the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Public Treasurer. These three, with the addition of three Justices of the Peace at the Governor's pleasure, constituted the Legislative Council, to pass such laws as seemed necessary for the good government of the colony and were not repugnant to the laws of England. In doing so they had to conform to instructions received from the Colonial Office, and only the Governor could propose the laws and the subjects for debate.

This form of administration was soon declared to be inadequate for the progressive people of the young colony. Under the auspices of the New Zealand Company thousands of pioneers—men and women of independent character and opinions—were settled in distant localities like Wellington, Nelson, Taranaki, Canterbury, Otago, and elsewhere. They desired, above all things, to manage their own affairs and not to be governed by officials sent out from England. Their demand for self-government was so vigorous that in 1846 the British Parliament passed a Constitution Act to meet the needs of the colony. This measure authorised the Crown to create municipal corporations having the same powers as English boroughs; to divide the country into separate provinces each with an assembly comprising a Governor, a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, and a House of Representatives elected by the mayors, aldermen, and common councillors of the municipal corporations within the province; and to establish a General Assembly for the

colony to consist of a Governor-in-Chief, a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, and a House of Representatives to be appointed by provincial houses from their own members.

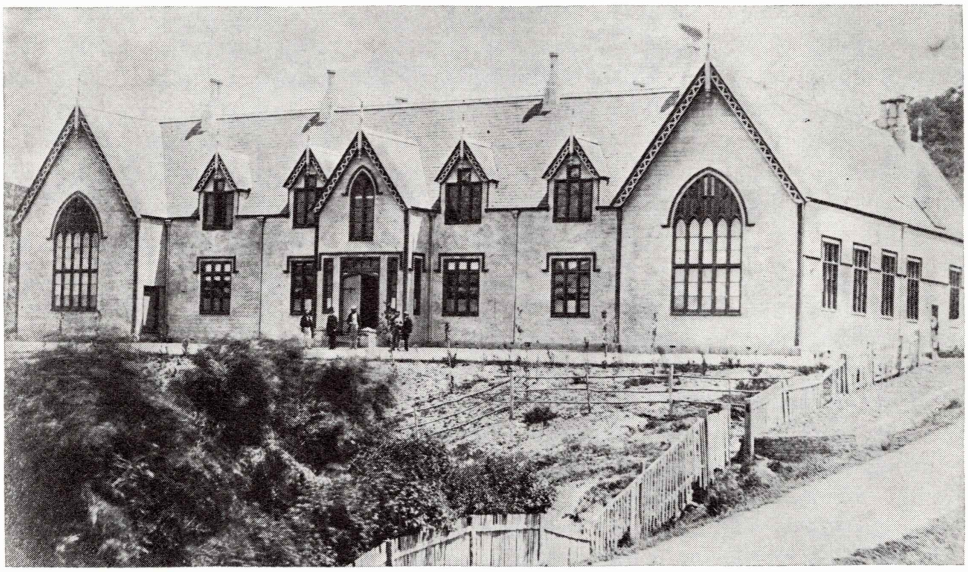
When the instructions reached New Zealand the Governor, Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey, fearing that the powers conferred upon the whites might be used to the disadvantage of the Maori population, braved the indignation of the colonists by suspending portion of the constitution and persuading the British Government to postpone its operation for 5 years. This rebuff disappointed the colonists, who maintained their demand for full self-government.

The Constitution Act of 1852

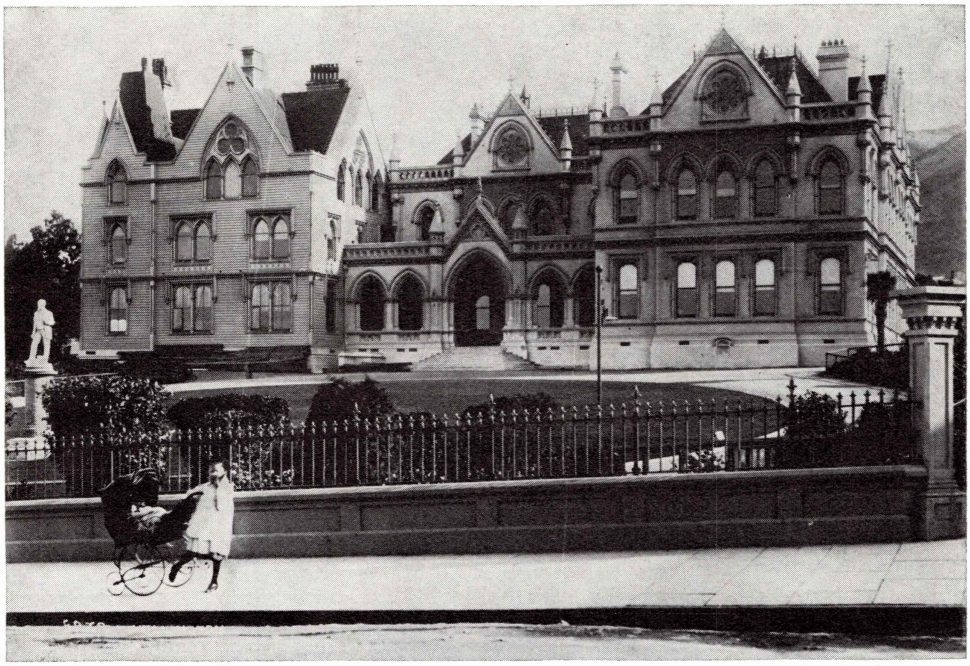
As a final outcome the United Kingdom Parliament in 1852 passed the New Zealand Constitution Act.

This Act provided for a General Assembly consisting of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives empowered to make such laws for the peace, order, and good government of New Zealand as were not repugnant to the laws of England. The members of the Upper House were nominated for life by the Crown and the members of the Lower House were elected on an adult male property franchise for 5 years. It is of more than passing interest that at this stage no special provision was made for Maori electors, though they might register and vote as landowners. The Maori people were accorded special representation in 1867.

First Parliament House, Auckland. The gabled section on the right was built in time for first meeting of General Assembly on 24 May 1854. *Turnbull Library Photo.*



Wellington Provincial Council Chambers erected in 1859. Purchased by Government for General Assembly whose first meeting there following transfer of seat of Government was on 26 July 1865. Buildings altered and extended housed Parliament until 11 December 1907. *Turnbull Library Photo.*



Parliament House and the General Assembly Library. Parliament House (on left of entrance) was destroyed by fire on 11 December 1907. *Turnbull Library Photo.*

The first meeting of Parliament was in May 1854. As soon as it was opened there was a strong demand in the House of Representatives for the concession of self-government in its entirety—that is, the removal of the old-time officials from office so that the administration would be entirely in the hands of Ministers responsible to Parliament. The movement was led by such distinguished statesmen as Edward Gibbon Wakefield, James Edward Fitzgerald, Frederick Weld, and Henry Sewell. It was so determined that the Home Government conceded the demand in 1855, and responsible government was introduced by the new Governor (Colonel T. Gore Browne) in 1856.

The Constitution Act of 1852 also provided for the establishment of six provincial governments, and four others were created later. The first was established in 1853. Remoteness, and the difficulty of communications as well as the need to free the Central Government to deal with national matters, were reasons advanced to justify these separate provincial governments. Each provincial council, with its superintendent, was elected by the people of the province for 4 years. Provincial legislation could be vetoed by the Governor. He could also disallow the election of the superintendent, dissolve the council and the office of superintendent, or remove the latter from office on a majority address from members of the council. As population increased there were disputes between the provinces about jurisdiction and the division of moneys from the central treasury. The quarrels ended only with the abolition of the provinces in 1876 after a bitter struggle. Thereafter parliamentary government in New Zealand developed on unitary lines.

Structure of the New Zealand Parliament

The General Assembly now comprises the Governor-General and the House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was abolished on 1 January 1951.

Governor-General

The Governor-General is the personal representative of Her Majesty in New Zealand and the formal head of the Executive. He is appointed by the Queen for a term of 5 years on the advice of the New Zealand Government. The administration is carried on in his name and certain appointments are made in his name. He is also Commander-in-Chief of New Zealand's armed forces.

Except on those occasions when Her Majesty is present in person he summons, prorogues, and dissolves the General Assembly. At the opening of Parliament he delivers the Speech from the Throne. It is prepared by his Ministers and indicates the reasons for summoning Parliament and purports to survey the international and domestic scenes and to foreshadow the legislative programme. The Governor-General confers the honours recommended by the Government and approved by the Queen and he assents on behalf of Her Majesty to all Bills passed by the House of Representatives. As a man of eminence and wide experience the Queen's personal

representative makes a valuable contribution to the life of the nation. He is obliged to travel extensively within New Zealand and from time to time to make visits to New Zealand's island territories.

Sir Denis Edward Blundell takes oaths of office and allegiance on 27 September 1972 when assuming office of Governor-General. The Chief Justice, the Right Hon. Sir Richard Churton Wild, administers the oaths. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

Executive Council. When the Governor-General meets the Executive Council he presides over its meetings. In his absence the Prime Minister or next senior Minister presides. Two members exclusive of His Excellency or the presiding Minister constitute a quorum. The powers, duties, and responsibilities of the Governor-General and the Executive Council are set out in Royal Letters Patent and Instructions of 11 May 1917. In exercising his powers the Governor-General must be guided by the advice of the Executive Council. The Governor-General may, if he sees sufficient cause dissent from the advice and act in opposition to it reporting the matter to Her Majesty without delay and assigning reasons. Any Minister may require that the grounds of any advice or opinion that he may give shall be recorded in the minutes. Among the principal functions of the Executive Council are the issuing of Orders in Council making regulations authorised by various statutes, and the making of statutory appointments. At times it has exercised the Royal prerogative of mercy or pardon. It is the Executive Council which the law recognises and which continues in

existence after Parliament is dissolved. No person may be appointed a Minister or member of the Executive Council unless he is a member of Parliament and if he ceases to be such a member except on the dissolution of Parliament he cannot continue to hold office for more than 21 days. New Zealand Ministers are appointed by the Governor-General under the prerogative powers delegated to him.

The Executive Council meets each week in Parliament House. It also meets on special occasions at Government House, e.g., when a new Ministry is being sworn in. It was at Government House in January 1954 that the Queen presided at a meeting of the Privy Council and for the first time at a meeting of the Executive Council. The Royal Powers Act was passed in 1953 to remove doubts as to whether the statutory powers conferred on the Governor-General (e.g., the summoning and proroguing of Parliament and the making of orders in Council) could be exercised by the Queen who was to visit New Zealand in 1954. Since the seat of Government was transferred from Auckland to Wellington in 1865, four meetings of the Executive Council have been held outside Wellington. On 24th May 1954 it met in Auckland on the occasion of the centenary of parliamentary government. Meetings were also held in Invercargill (14 March 1956), in Napier (3 November 1958), and in Greymouth (29 March 1960) during the provincial centennial celebrations.

Cabinet. Although without legal existence, the Cabinet is nevertheless the keystone of our parliamentary system. It is a small body selected from the leading members of the Government or majority party in the House, and charged with the responsibility for all State activities, but it is accountable to the House of Representatives as a whole for its administrative actions. In the words of Bagehot, it is "a combining committee—a *hyphen* which joins, a *buckle* which fastens the legislative part of the State to the executive part of the State".

Although the first Parliament authorised by the Constitution Act 1852 was elected in 1853 it did not meet until 1854. It was dissolved in 1855. It was not until after the second Parliament had assembled in 1856 that responsible government was introduced and the first New Zealand Cabinet came into existence. It had four members.

Cabinet is the Executive Council in informal dress, with the Prime Minister presiding as chairman. Most of the legislation passed by Parliament is promoted by Cabinet Ministers, who are responsible through their departmental officers for the administration of the laws when passed.

In December 1969 the Cabinet was increased to 18 members. In December 1972, following a change of Government, the number of Ministers was further increased to 20 members. As there are over 40 departments of State, each Minister must accept responsibility for the control of several. In 1936 provision was made for the appointment of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries to assist Ministers, and appointments have been made from time to time.

The Prime Minister determines the priority of matters coming before Cabinet. It discusses all matters brought before it by Ministers and determines the policy to be

submitted to Parliament and what legislation will be introduced. Its discussions are informal and confidential. Cabinet Ministers are the political heads of the various State departments for which they are responsible. Cabinet usually meets on a Monday but frequently at other times when required. Certain matters are considered by Cabinet committees. Cabinet itself and its committees are serviced by a Cabinet secretariat which ensures that the material placed before Cabinet is adequate to cover the matters raised.

Caucus. This is the name given to a private meeting of the members of each political party. Caucuses are held at least once a week when Parliament is in session and at frequent but longer intervals during a recess of Parliament. The leaders of the parties preside at the respective Caucus meetings and the tactics and lines of discussion and action are discussed; questions of policy are determined and reports and other matters are debated.

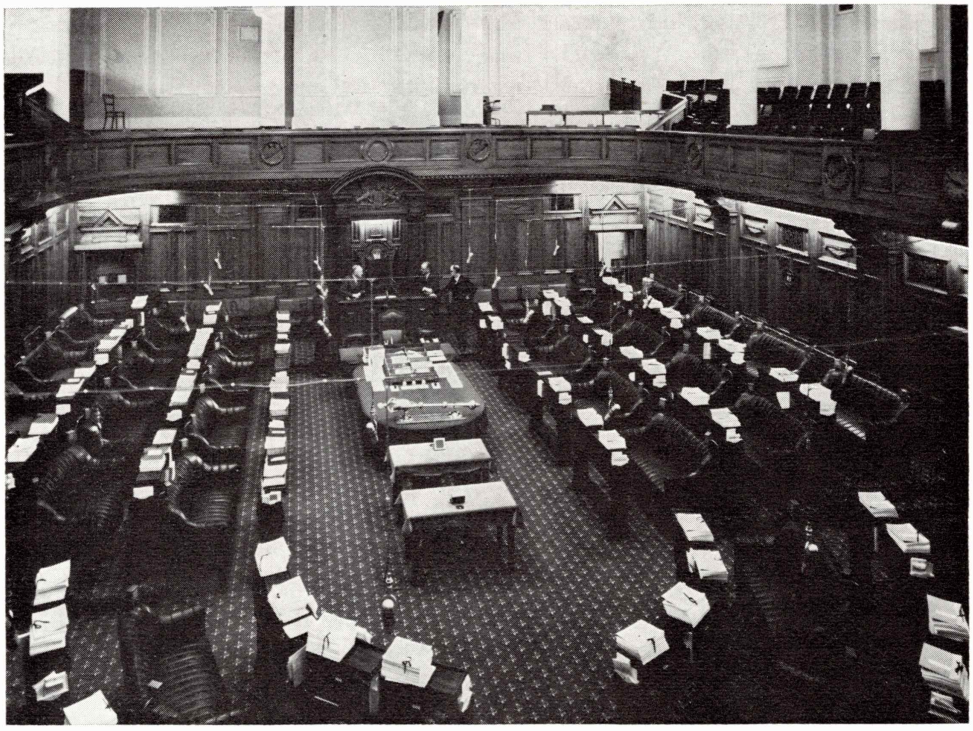
House of Representatives

The Constitution Act 1852 provided for the election of not more than 42 nor less than 24 members to the House of Representatives. The first popular Chamber, elected in 1853, had 37 members of whom 12 came from Auckland, 3 from Taranaki, 8 from Wellington, 6 from Nelson, 5 from Canterbury, and 3 from Otago. Since then the number has varied, reaching a maximum of 91 in 1881.

In 1900 the number of European members was fixed at 76 at which it remained until the dissolution of Parliament in 1969. The thirty-sixth Parliament returned at the election on 20 November 1969 comprised 84 members. In 1965 Parliament was persuaded that, because of the continued drift of population from the South Island to the North Island, the public interest would best be served by fixing the number of European electorates in the South Island at 25 (an increase of 1) and that the number of North Island European electorates should be determined by the Representation Commission after each population census on the basis of the South Island quota. In 1967 (following the 1966 quinquennial census) the number of North Island European electorates was increased from 52 to 55. In January 1972 (following the 1971 quinquennial census) the number of North Island European electorates was further increased from 55 to 58 and the thirty-seventh Parliament returned at the general election on 25 November 1972 thus comprised 87 members.

Twenty members constitute a quorum of the House or a Committee of the Whole House and this number includes the Speaker, the Chairman of Committees, or other member presiding.

The Maori Representation Act of 1867 had provided for the addition of four Maori members. The preamble of the Bill declared that "owing to the peculiar nature of the tenure of Maori land and to other causes" Maoris had with few exceptions been unable to become registered as electors or to vote at the election of members of the House or of provincial councils, and that it was expedient for the better protection of their interests that provision should be made for special representation.



The Mace rests upon the Table of the House of Representatives with its crown surmounted by an orb and Maltese cross pointing towards the Government benches. Members' bill books may be seen on their desks. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

Until 1949 Maori electors in the four Maori electorates voted by declaration. A Maori roll is now in use. A half-caste may register for either a European or a Maori district, but not both. Maoris of less than half blood must register on a European roll, and those of more than half blood may vote only for Maori candidates. Provision for a secret ballot in Maori elections was made in 1937.

In 1954 the boundaries of the Maori electoral districts were changed to ensure that the number of electors in each of the four districts was approximately the same. As a result the Southern Maori electoral district now embraces in addition to the whole of the South Island, a large part of the North Island.

The Triennial Parliaments Act 1879 abolished quinquennial Parliaments provided for by the Constitution Act 1852. Except for the periods of World War I, the 1931–35 economic depression, and of World War II, 3 years has been the maximum life of subsequent Parliaments. The Electoral Amendment Act 1934 introduced a 4-year term for all subsequent Parliaments but the Electoral Amendment Act 1937 restored the 3-year term. In 1951 the National Government dissolved the twenty-ninth Parliament after an existence of 20 months and sought a new mandate following a period of industrial unrest. Following an agreement between the members of the National Party and of the Labour Opposition, section 189 of the Electoral

Act of 1956 sought to "entrench" certain sections of that Act by providing that those sections, one of which related to the duration of Parliament, should not be amended or repealed except by a 75 percent majority of all the members of the House or by a majority vote at a national referendum. A national referendum on 23 September 1967 endorsed the retention of the 3-year period.

The present method of election in New Zealand is that known as the "first past the post" system. Registration of European electors has been compulsory since 1924 and for Maoris since 1948, but there is no legal obligation to vote. Since 1956 there has been a legal requirement for all qualified electors to re-register within 3 months of the proclamation of the new boundaries fixed by the Representation Commission.

At the general election held on 25 November 1972 the number of electors qualified to vote in the 83 European electorates was 1,527,805, an average of 18,407 per electorate; 160,257 electors did not vote. The percentage of qualified electors who did vote was 89.50. The total number of Maori electors qualified to vote in the four Maori electorates was 55,451, an average of 13,862 per electorate; 12,757 electors did not vote. The percentage of qualified electors who did vote was 76.93.

Members of the House were at first designated M.G.A. (Member of the General Assembly). This was later changed to M.H.R. (Member of the House of Representatives) and in 1907 to M.P. (Member of Parliament). Under the Electoral Act 1956 every registered elector of either sex, but no other person, may qualify as a parliamentary candidate provided such person is not an undischarged bankrupt nor a contractor to the Public Service to whom more than $400 is payable in any one financial year and provided also that such person is not disqualified as an elector under the Act. (See under "Franchise".) Although eligible to vote from 1893 women were not eligible as candidates until 1919. The first woman to be elected as a member of the House of Representatives was Mrs E. R. McCombs who in 1933 succeeded her late husband as member for Lyttelton. On her death in 1935 she was succeeded by her son. Prior to the passing of the Political Disabilities Removal Act 1936 a public servant was ineligible for election. Today, if elected to Parliament, he vacates his position and cannot resume it within 12 months of ceasing to be a member unless he has previously been a public servant for at least 5 years.

Franchise

The franchise introduced by the Constitution Act was a restrictive male adult property franchise. The secret ballot was introduced in 1869. In 1879 the freehold qualification was reduced from £50 to £25; the leaseholders', householders', and ratepayers' franchise was abolished; and a vote was given to every male over 21 years of age who had resided in the colony for 12 months and in the electorate for 6 months. In 1891 the principle of one man one vote was established. In 1893 the vote was given to women. In 1896 the property qualification was abolished. In 1881 the "country quota" was introduced, by which 33⅓ percent was added to the "rural" portion of the population of each electorate. This was reduced to 18 percent in 1887, but in 1889 was increased to 28 percent, at which it remained

until 1946, when it was abolished. Aliens, mental defectives, and certain public offenders are disqualified from voting. Today, to qualify as a parliamentary elector in New Zealand, a person must have attained the age of 20 years and be a British subject or Irish citizen and be ordinarily resident in New Zealand, at some period to have resided continuously in New Zealand for at least a year, and, except in special cases, to have resided continuously for more than 3 months in the electorate in respect of which he desires to be registered. The voting age was reduced from 21 to 20 by the Electoral Amendment Act 1969. The Labour Government returned at the 1972 general election has stated its intention to reduce the voting age to 18 years. Normally a voter must vote at a polling booth but provision is now made for electors in special circumstances (e.g., illness, infirmity, absence from electorate or New Zealand) to vote as "special voters" either at a polling booth outside the district or by post.

Legislative Council

The Constitution Act of 1852 authorised the appointment by the Governor of not less than 10 members to the Legislative Council, the appointments to be made for life. In 1861 the maximum was raised to 20, but in the same year the limitation on membership was revoked. The first two Maori members were summoned in 1872. In 1885 the Council membership reached 53. Thereafter it was reduced to and maintained at about half the strength of the Lower House.

Many unsuccessful attempts were made to reform the Council. In the first Parliament an attempt was made to have it made elective. In 1865 and 1866 the Council itself endeavoured to limit its numbers. In 1885 it initiated a Bill to provide for the election of its members by a joint session of both Houses. In 1891 life appointments were abolished and thereafter new members were appointed for a term of 7 years but were eligible for reappointment. Power was also given to the Council to elect its own Speaker, he being previously appointed by the Governor. In 1914 an Act was passed providing for the election of 40 European members for a term of 5 years by a system of proportional representation and for the appointment of not more than three Maori members for a term of 6 years. It did not come into operation. Women became eligible for appointment in 1941, the first two being appointed in 1946. The quorum was fixed at one-fourth of the membership. The Leader of the Legislative Council, or Government spokesman in that Chamber, was normally appointed to the Executive Council and frequently given a portfolio with a seat in Cabinet. Five Prime Ministers (Whitaker, Waterhouse, Pollen, Mackenzie, and Bell) were members of the Legislative Council. There was no time limit on speeches, nor were the rules of relevancy strictly applied. In other respects its procedure was similar to that of the Lower House.

Qualifications for membership of the Council were the same as those of the House of Representatives except that a person could not be a member of both Houses at the same time.

Although in theory the Council had the same legislative power as the Lower House, the fact that it could not initiate or amend money Bills tended to restrict its influence. In later years it seldom initiated legislation, and became a mere echo of the House of Representatives. In 1950 its membership was increased from 31 to 54 to ensure the passage of a Government Bill providing for its abolition. One of the appointees, the Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata, died on 14 July before taking his seat. The Bill was assented to on 18 August 1950 and came into force on 1 January 1951, since when New Zealand has had a unicameral Legislature.

In 1960 a Select Committee of the House considered a petition seeking the restoration of an Upper House and the provision of a written constitution. The committee whose proceedings were open to the public and the press had no recommendation to make. In 1963 a further petition was presented praying for the establishment of a second chamber and this petition was likewise referred to a Select Committee which heard evidence and had its proceedings open to the press and public. The committee which was unable to make a favourable recommendation expressed the view that the restoration of a second chamber would serve no useful purpose. Both reports were received by the House without dissent and it would now seem that there is little if any parliamentary or public support for a second chamber.

The final sitting of the Legislative Council on 1 December 1950. Its abolition became effective on 1 January 1951. *Turnbull Library Photo.*

Powers, Functions, and Procedure of Parliament

POWERS OF PARLIAMENT. The legislative powers of the New Zealand General Assembly have been widened from time to time by Acts of the Imperial Parliament. The New Zealand Constitution Amendment Act 1857 gave power to the New Zealand General Assembly to amend, alter, suspend, or repeal, with certain exceptions, any of the provisions of the Act of 1852.

In 1947 New Zealand adopted the Statute of Westminster, which was passed by the United Kingdom Parliament in 1931. This statute, which interpreted resolutions passed at the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, provided that no legislation subsequently passed by the New Zealand Parliament could be held void on the ground of repugnancy to an Imperial Act, and no Act of the United Kingdom Parliament could be applied to the Dominion of New Zealand without the Dominion Parliament's request or consent. By the New Zealand Constitution (Amendment) Act 1947, passed by the United Kingdom Parliament at New Zealand's request, the New Zealand Parliament was given power to alter the Constitution Act of 1852 in any way it saw fit. The New Zealand Parliament thereafter had full legislative competence.

A change of great constitutional importance was made with the passing of the Electoral Act 1956. Section 189 of that Act provided that certain other sections of the Act should become reserved or "entrenched" and that no such provision should be repealed or amended unless a proposal for amendment or repeal: (a) is passed by a majority of 75 percent of all the members of the House of Representatives; or (b) has been carried by a majority of the valid votes cast at a poll of the electors of the European and Maori electoral districts. The reserved sections relate to the following subjects some of which have given rise to political controversy:

(1) The constitution of the Representation Commission and its terms of reference;
(2) The number of European electoral districts and the basing of their boundaries on total European population;
(3) The extent to which the commission may deviate from numerical equality of European population in electoral districts (i.e. the 5 percent tolerance);
(4) The age of voting;
(5) The secret ballot; and
(6) The life of Parliament.

Although it is accepted that one Parliament cannot bind its successors and that section 189 can legally be repealed by a simple majority, it is nevertheless a fact that the section was passed unanimously, and embodied an agreement that neither of two main political parties would employ a bare majority to amend or repeal any of the "entrenched" provisions. On 15 September 1965 when clause 3 of the Electoral Amendment Bill (increasing the number of South Island electorates from 24 to 25) was carried unanimously the Chairman of Committees made a count and declared that the number of other members present and supporting the clause (66) was in excess of the 75 percent required by section 189. Similarly on 20 August 1969, when clause 2 of the Electoral Amendment Bill (reducing the voting age from 21 to 20)

was unanimously passed, the chairman again made a count and declared that the number of other members present and agreeing to the passing of the clause (70) was in excess of the 75 percent required by section 189.

FUNCTIONS OF PARLIAMENT. Apart from providing a Government, the main functions of the New Zealand Parliament are: to legislate; to grant or vote the money required by the State and to impose taxation; and to examine and debate the Government's policy and ventilate grievances.

Legislation. In the discharge of Parliament's first function it is the Government, or Cabinet, which plays the leading role. Most legislation takes the form of Bills embodying the principles of the successful political party and the promises made in its manifesto. Private members have only certain limited rights in regard to the introduction of Bills, their claims being subordinated to those of the Government. The private member, unless he is able to persuade the Government to adopt his Bill, will not be able to proceed far with it. The late Sir Thomas Sidey's Summer Time Bill was a notable example of a private member's Bill reaching the statute book, but only after persistent efforts on his part over a period of years.

Perhaps the most successful member was the Hon. H. G. R. Mason, who during his 40 years in the House had the satisfaction on at least four occasions of seeing a public Bill (other than a local Bill) which he had introduced as a private member reach the statute book. Most of the public Bills introduced by private members would, if passed, involve the expenditure of public moneys and as the initiative in such matters belongs to the Crown alone the Speaker is obliged, in the exercise of his constitutional duty, to rule such Bills out of order as involving an appropriation of public funds. It is customary, however, for the House to allow a second reading debate before this course is taken.

Every Bill before it becomes an Act goes through certain stages: first reading, committee, and third reading. The first reading is formal. The main debate is on the second reading whilst the various clauses are discussed separately in committee. The third reading debate is restricted.

Appropriation of the Revenue and Imposition of Taxation. The financial proceedings mainly centre around the Budget or Financial Statement in which the Minister of Finance reviews the public finances and the economic position of the country, and outlines his proposals for adjusting the revenue of the State to meet the proposed expenditure for the current financial year. His taxation proposals and those for the adjustment of pensions and other benefits which are always a matter of great public interest are given statutory effect by Bills introduced and passed later in the session. The Budget is usually presented in June or July, together with the estimates of expenditure for the current financial year. The latter volume contains details of the estimated expenditure of every Government department and shows in columnar form the amounts voted by Parliament last year, the amount actually spent last year and the requirements for the present year. Until the sums set out in the estimates are voted or granted by the House, temporary "Supply" is taken at intervals by means of Imprest Supply Bills.

Criticism of Executive. The third, and perhaps the most important function of Parliament is its critical function. Most criticism naturally comes from the Opposition members. Their duties and functions are to criticise and/or oppose; to debate and analyse every Government proposal; to offer alternative views; and to point out acts of maladministration. Opportunities for these are available at practically every point of procedure. In the Address in Reply and Budget debates members may discuss any aspect of Government administration. The discussion of private members' motions, the directing of questions to Ministers, the discussion of amendments and the special adjournment motions to discuss matters of urgent public importance or Ministerial replies to questions provide opportunities when the Opposition has the tactical advantage of being able to choose the ground. But it must oppose with the degree of responsibility that comes from the knowledge that it will one day become the Government and will be held accountable for many of the things it said when in opposition.

PROCEDURE OF PARLIAMENT. The procedure of the House, in the main, is founded on that of the House of Commons, subject to the introduction of such variations as are suited to our local conditions. The great traditions handed down to us by the British Parliament—freedom of speech, respect for the rights of minorities, and a sense of fair play—are zealously guarded in the proceedings of the New Zealand Parliament. The proceedings are regulated by Standing Orders, which are supplemented by rulings from the Chair and by well established parliamentary practice.

Meeting and Sittings of House. The House normally met in June and sat until the end of November or early December, but in recent years the practice has been to meet somewhat earlier and to adjourn for short periods to enable the important work of Select Committees which is increasing in volume to be dealt with more effectively. It sits on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m., and from 7.30 to 10.30 p.m., and on Fridays from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. On special occasions, particularly towards the end of a session, urgency may by vote of the House be accorded for the passing of some Bill or other business. Thereupon, the day's sitting is automatically extended until such time as the business for which urgency has been sought has been disposed of, or the Prime Minister is satisfied that reasonable progress has been made.

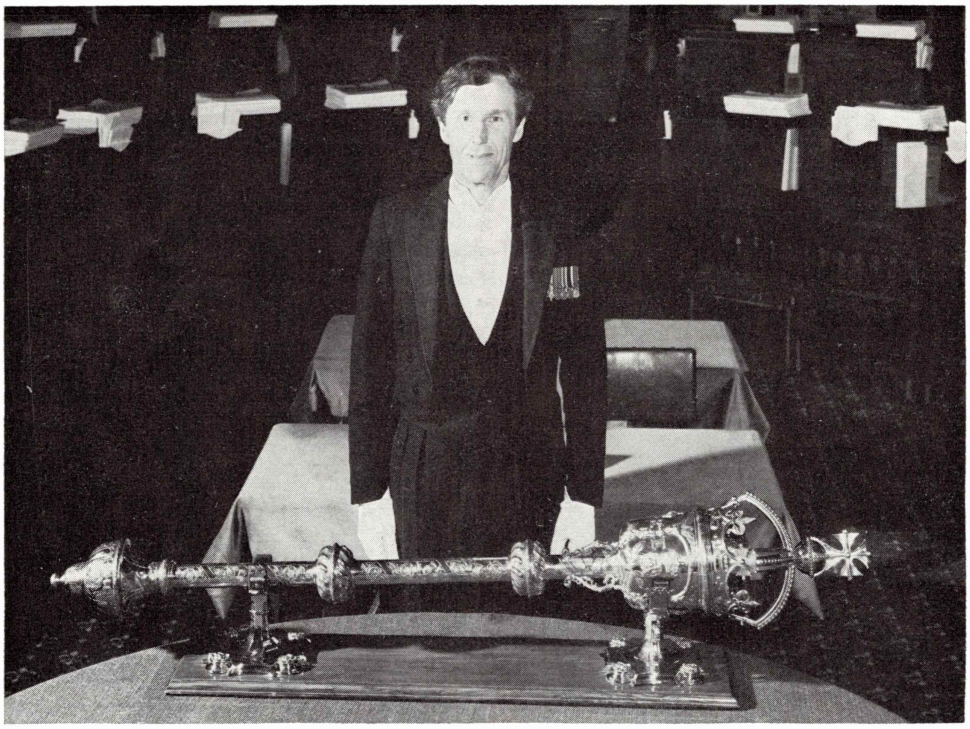
At the beginning of each day's sitting when Mr Speaker enters the Chamber he is preceded by the Serjeant-at-Arms (bearing the Mace), who, in a loud voice, announces "Mister Speaker!" whereupon all members rise in their places. After

Mr Speaker (Hon. S. A. Whitehead) preceded by his Attendant and the Serjeant-at-Arms (with Mace) proceeds to Chamber of House of Representatives. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

ascending the canopied dais Mr Speaker bows first to the Government members on his right and then to the Opposition members on his left, the bows being acknowledged by members. He then reads the following prayer:

> "Almighty God, humbly acknowledging our need for Thy guidance in all things and laying aside all private and personal interests, we beseech Thee to grant that we may conduct the affairs of this House and of our country to the Glory of Thy Holy Name, the maintenance of true religion and justice, the honour of the Queen, and the public welfare, peace, and tranquillity of New Zealand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The prayer being read, the Serjeant-at-Arms places the Mace on a bracket on the far end of the Table of the House, where it remains so long as the Speaker is in the Chair.



Serjeant-at-Arms places the Mace upon the Table of the House. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

The Daily Order of Business

The House being thus opened for business, Mr Speaker calls the various items of business in their prescribed order by asking, "Is there any private business? Are there any petitions? Are there any papers for presentation?", and so on through the list. Where the paper presented is of some importance (e.g., a departmental report or the report of a Royal Commission) the Minister asks the House to authorise its being printed (whereupon copies are circulated to members). Should a local Bill or a private member's public Bill be ready for introduction a brief explanation may then be given, after which the Bill is read a first time without debate. If a local Bill (one promoted by a local authority) it is automatically referred to a Select Committee for examination and report. In the case of a private member's public Bill the member may take the opportunity at this preliminary stage to explain his intentions. If the Bill involves an appropriation (i.e., the expenditure of public funds) or seeks to impose a tax the Speaker will be obliged when it comes up later for second reading to rule it out of order as the initiative in all money matters belongs to the Crown alone. In certain circumstances the member may, with the indulgence of the House, be afforded a second reading debate before the Bill is ruled out of order by Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker has a constitutional duty to preserve the initiative of the Crown in such matters.

During the afternoon period reports of Select Committees on Bills or petitions may be tabled and discussed. The debate on the report on a Bill is restricted to 10-minute speeches. The debate on a petition securing a favourable recommendation is restricted to a brief statement of thanks by the member who presented it but if the committee has no recommendation to make a debate not exceeding 1 hour and restricted to 5-minute speeches may if desired be raised on the report. Petitions favourably reported on are referred by the House to the Government which is required by the Standing Orders to report back to Parliament within 28 days of the commencement of the next session what action, if any, it has taken. In each case the petitioner is advised of the finding of the Select Committee. If the report is favourable a copy of the report and of the petition is referred to the appropriate Government department by the Clerk of the House and that department in due course reports to a subcommittee of Cabinet and finally Cabinet itself decides what effect shall be given to the recommendation and as indicated the House is advised of that decision.

The provision made in the standing orders for the discussion during this afternoon period of parliamentary papers (which include annual departmental reports) is now seldom availed of members preferring to reserve their comments thereon until the House goes into committee to discuss and pass the estimates of expenditure. On Wednesday afternoons, during the early part of the session, private members' notices of motion are given precedence over Government business until 5.30 p.m. and each motion called on may be discussed for 1 hour.

Perhaps the most interesting period is the question period, limited to 30 minutes, during which Ministers give oral answers to questions addressed to them by members. This period is frequently extended. Members who desire oral answers to questions hand them to the Clerk of the House before noon on any day; if in order they are printed immediately and copies are circulated to the Minister and the department concerned and they appear next day on the Order Paper. They are answered on the following day and the member thus receives his answer within 48 hours. Each day when questions for oral answer are reached Mr Speaker calls the number of the question and the member in whose name it stands first indicates the Minister to whom it is addressed and then reads the question to the House whereupon the Minister rises and gives his reply. The answer, which cannot be debated, usually starts a battle of wits between the Minister and his questioner. It takes the form of "supplementary" questions and ministerial answers thereto. These supplementaries are further questions arising out of the Minister's previous answers on which a member seeks elucidation. In the House of Commons many Ministers rise and fall in popular estimation according as they can or cannot handle these "supplementaries". The fact that the House is on the air encourages some members to ask questions for political propaganda purposes rather than to elicit information, or press for action. Members may also seek written answers to questions, particularly where detailed information is required. These answers are not read out in the House but are delivered to the member by the Clerk of the House within the period prescribed by the

Standing Orders. Both the question and the answer are printed on the Order Paper and in *Hansard.* An urgent question may be asked without notice the same day if on the submission of its text to the Speaker he is satisfied that in the public interest it should be answered immediately. The text of such urgent question must be delivered to the Speaker's office not later than 11 a.m. on the day on which it is proposed to ask such question unless such day be a Friday (when the House meets at 10 a.m.) when the submission of the question is required not later than 4 p.m. on the previous day. Every alternate Thursday all written questions and their answers which have accumulated on the Order Paper are transferred to a Supplementary Order Paper which is prepared and circulated for discussion in the House on the following Wednesday afternoon. Also included in this Supplementary Order Paper are any oral or written questions and the answers given that the House may, at the request of a member, order to be transferred to the Supplementary Order Paper. The period of discussion is 1 hour and each member may speak for 5 minutes. This affords an opportunity to a member dissatisfied with the ministerial answer given to a particular question to debate the matter and to focus public attention on the subject raised by the question.

The final item called on is "Orders of the Day". By this is meant consideration of Bills set down on the Order Paper, or the commencement or resumption of some set debate (e.g., Address in Reply, Budget debate, or some other business previously set down for discussion). The Standing Orders provide that unless they have been previously reached the House shall proceed each day to Orders of the Day at 7.30 p.m. (2 p.m. on a Friday). With certain exceptions any debate still in progress at the 5.30 p.m. meal adjournment (1 p.m. on a Friday) on any of the above-mentioned items of "formal" business would be interrupted at that time by the Speaker and the House would proceed at 7.30 p.m. (2 p.m. on a Friday) to Orders of the Day.

The Sessional Programme

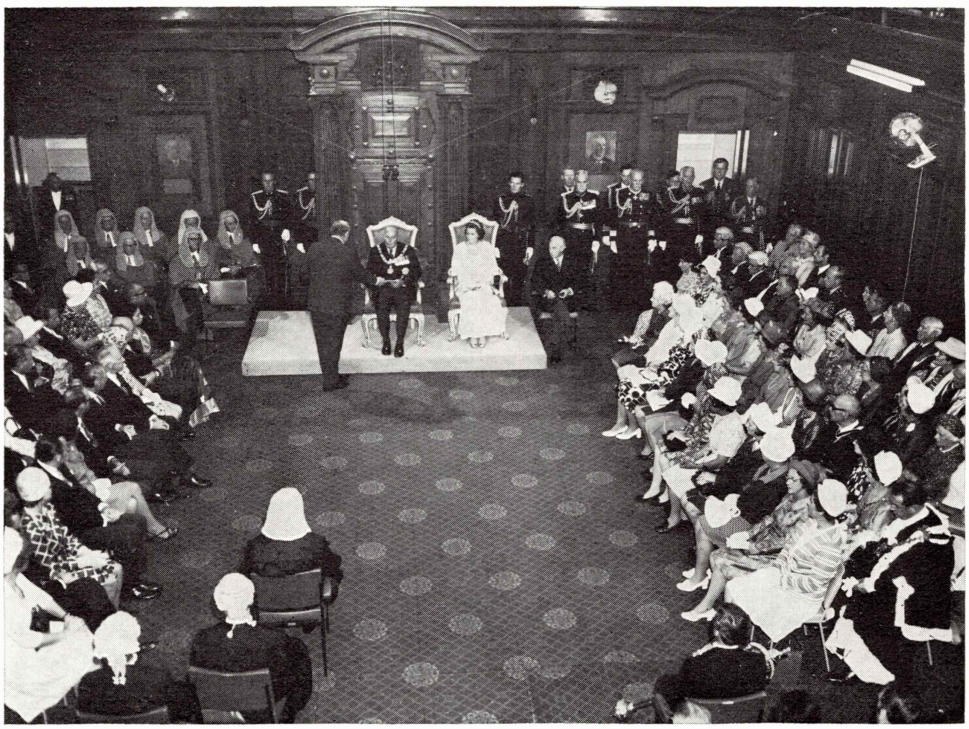
THE FORMAL OPENING. When the Governor-General opens Parliament each year the scene is a colourful one. The events preceding his entrance to the Chamber of the abolished Legislative Council are full of military pageantry. Inside the Chamber the scene is equally impressive and colourful. Awaiting his entry are the diplomats and their wives, Judges and their wives, Ministers' wives, and other distinguished guests. At the base of the main steps awaiting his arrival is the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod with his ebony staff of office. In echelon on his right and left are the Chiefs of Staff and the Honorary Aides. Drawn up opposite is a Guard of Honour and band. At 2.30 p.m. precisely His Excellency, accompanied by Her Excellency and members of his staff, arrives at the base of the steps and when the cars have moved off Black Rod bows to His Excellency and a trumpet fanfare is sounded. When it ceases His Excellency turns about and a Royal Salute is given and the National Anthem is played. At that precise moment jet aircraft roar overhead. After inspecting the Guard of Honour His Excellency returns to the base of the steps and then, preceded by Black Rod and accompanied by Her Excellency, proceeds to the

Formal opening of Parliament on 14 February 1973. Black Rod awaits arrival of Governor-General.
National Publicity Studios Photo.

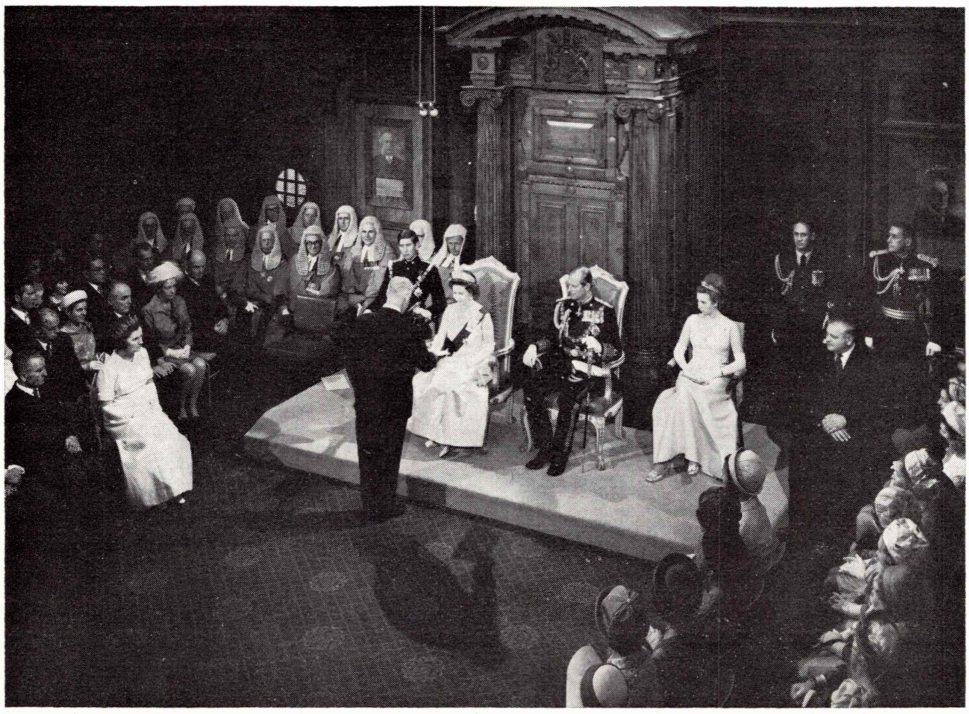
Council Chamber. As he crosses the threshold of the Council Chamber, Black Rod announces "His Excellency the Governor-General" whereupon a fanfare of trumpets is sounded which continues until His Excellency has mounted the dais and turned about. His Excellency having bowed to the Judges and the diplomats on his right and to the other distinguished guests on his left takes his seat on the dais.

When His Excellency is seated, he orders Black Rod to summon the members of the House of Representatives who have assembled in their Chamber. Black Rod withdraws from the Chamber bowing as he does so. On reaching the door of the House of Representatives he finds it locked and the curtains drawn. He knocks three times with his staff of office whereupon the Serjeant-at-Arms who has taken up a position near the door orders the curtains to be drawn and then, on identifying Black Rod, turns to Mr Speaker for directions. [The practice of shutting the door in Black Rod's face is supposed to have stemmed from the attempt of Charles I in 1642 to arrest five members of the House of Commons but it was not Black Rod but a Serjeant-at-Arms who was sent to make the arrest. In the previous year the *Commons Journal* records that the Commons had taken exception to Black Rod coming to deliver a message without his staff of office and before being called in. This attitude

and the desire of the Commons to demonstrate its right to close its doors and its debates to outsiders, including the King's Messenger, furnish the more likely explanation.] On receiving Mr Speaker's nod of approval the curtains are ordered to be moved, the doors to be unlocked, and the Bar of the House (a brass rod barring access to the floor of the Chamber) to be removed. Black Rod then enters and on reaching the Table of the House announces "Mr Speaker, His Excellency the Governor-General *desires* the immediate attendance of this Honourable House in the Council Chamber". (When Her Majesty has opened our Parliament the phrase used has been "Her Majesty *commands* the immediate attendance, etc.") The. Serjeant-at-Arms shouldering the Mace and following Black Rod leads Mr Speaker, the Clerk, and members to the Council Chamber. On entering Mr Speaker bows three times to His Excellency. He takes up his position in the centre of the Chamber with the Clerk and Clerk-Assistant on his left and the Serjeant-at-Arms on his right. When all the members are seated, and the Prime Minister (to the right of His Excellency) and the Leader of the Opposition (to the left) have taken their seats, the Prime Minister rises and hands to His Excellency the text of the Speech from the Throne.



14 February 1973. The Prime Minister, Hon. Norman Kirk, presents text of Speech to the Governor-General in the Council Chamber. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*



13 March 1970. The Queen (accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Charles, and Princess Anne) formally opens New Zealand Parliament. Right Hon. Sir Keith Holyoake, C.H., Prime Minister, presents text of Speech from the Throne. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE—The speech (which is prepared by the Government and read by His Excellency) indicates the reasons for summoning Parliament and purports to survey the international and domestic scenes and to foreshadow the programme of legislation. When it has been read by His Excellency, he leaves the Chamber, accompanied by Her Excellency and the Chiefs of Staff and the Aides. As he passes Mr Speaker, he hands to him the text of the speech which he has read. The members of the House, preceded by Mr Speaker and the Serjeant-at-Arms, then return to their Chamber.

Before Mr Speaker lays the text of the speech on the Table of the House the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill is introduced and read a first time pro forma (a symbolic assertion by the House of its right to deal with its own business before proceeding to consider the Sovereign's business). At the beginning of each session, since at least 1603, the House of Commons has similarly given a first reading to an Outlawries Bill for "the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries" to show Parliament's right to deliberate without reference to the immediate cause of its summons.

OPENING BY COMMISSION—ELECTION OF SPEAKER. At the first meeting of Parliament following a general election Parliament is opened by a Commission consisting of the Chief Justice and two other Judges. They are met at the base of the main steps by Black Rod who leads them into the Chamber of the House of Representatives where (after the Letters Patent constituting them as Commissioners has been read by the Clerk of the House) the Chief Justice announces that on the following day His Excellency the Governor-General will "declare to you in person the cause of his calling this meeting of Parliament together; but since it is necessary that a Speaker of the House of Representatives be first chosen His Excellency requests that you, members of the House of Representatives, do now proceed to make choice of a fit and proper person to fill that high and important office, and that having chosen him you present him (on the following day at Government House) for his Excellency's approval".

The Commissioners having retired, and the oath or affirmation having been administered to members by the Clerk, the House proceeds to elect its Speaker. The proposer and seconder of the motion "That Mr . . . do take the Chair of this House as Speaker" address their speeches to the Clerk of the House who acts as chairman during the election.

If only one member be proposed and seconded as Speaker that member stands up in his place and expresses his sense of the honour proposed to be conferred on him and "submits himself to the judgment of the House". He is then conducted by his proposer and seconder (usually the Government Whips) to the Chair. Standing upon the upper step and before taking his seat the Speaker-Elect thanks the House for the honour conferred upon him. The Mace, which until now has been on a bracket below the Table of the House, is then placed upon the Table, and, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition having congratulated Mr Speaker-Elect, the House is adjourned on the motion of the Prime Minister until the following day.

On the day following his election the Speaker-Elect, accompanied by his proposer and seconder and other members and by the Clerk and the Serjeant-at-Arms, presents himself at Government House for the approval of His Excellency and lays claim, on behalf of the House, to all their "undoubted" privileges, especially to freedom of speech in debate. The claim made by Mr Speaker is an act of courtesy and is purely symbolic the privilege of freedom of speech, for example, having long since been confirmed by statute. The Speaker's election has been contested on three occasions: in 1891 Mr Steward defeated Mr Rolleston by 36 votes to 29; in 1894 Sir Maurice O'Rorke the former Speaker, on his return to Parliament defeated Mr Steward by 46 votes to 19; and in 1923 Mr Statham defeated Mr McCombs by 61 votes to 17.

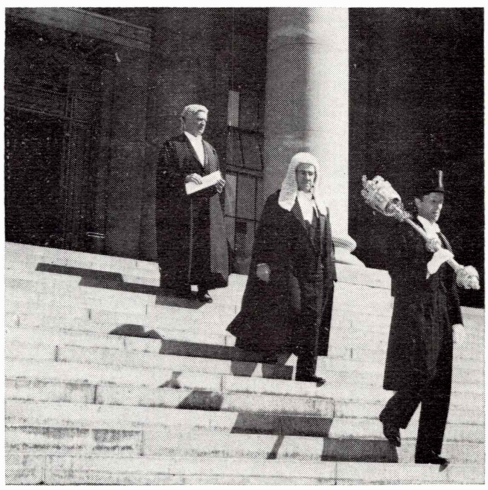
When proceeding to Government House for confirmation of his election the Speaker-Elect if he be a barrister wears a barrister's wig. If he is not a barrister he goes uncovered. His election confirmed the Speaker thereafter wears a full bottomed wig. Since 1947 when the full bottomed wig became a wig of office all Speakers

whether layman or barrister have worn the full bottomed wig. Prior to 1947 no wig was worn by a Speaker who was not a barrister. The Clerk of the House and the Clerk-Assistant are now required, as a condition of their engagement, to be barristers and they each wear a barrister's wig. The first barrister was appointed in 1930.

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY. The first set debate of the session is founded on a motion moved and seconded by Government members (usually newly elected members) that a respectful Address be presented to His Excellency in reply to His Excellency's Speech.

In accordance with custom, notice of this motion is given by the mover immediately following the tabling by Mr Speaker of the text of the speech delivered by His Excellency and reported to the House on the return of members to their chamber. The debate is opened at 7.30 p.m. on a Tuesday, and as a mark of respect to the Queen's representative, the mover and seconder on this occasion usually wear evening dress. This debate provides the first opportunity during the session for members to expound their views on matters of local or national interest and it usually continues for about 6 or 7 sitting days. It is not unusual for the Opposition to move an amendment to add words to the proposed Address to the effect that "we deem it our duty to represent to Your Excellency that Your Excellency's advisers do not possess the confidence of this House" and sometimes to add reasons for that alleged lack of confidence. Such amendments are keenly debated and taken to a division, but it is contrary to parliamentary practice and etiquette to vote against the Address itself. The last occasion on which words of no-confidence were added by the House to such an Address was on 7 December 1928 during the course of a special 10-day session of Parliament following the general election on 14 November 1928. An amendment moved by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward was carried on a division with the support of the Labour Party by 50 to 28 and led to the resignation of the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Mr Coates, leader of the Reform Party. The United Ministry was sworn in on 10 December and announced to the House by the new Prime Minister on the following day.

When the Address in Reply debate concludes and the Address has been adopted, it is then formally presented to His Excellency at Government House by Mr Speaker. On this occasion Mr Speaker is preceded by the Serjeant-at-Arms and accompanied by the Clerk and members, from each side of the House, including the mover and seconder of the Address.



Mr Speaker (Hon. S. A. Whitehead) preceded by the Serjeant-at-Arms and followed by the Clerk of the House leaves for Government House to present the Address in Reply to His Excellency's Speech at the opening of Parliament. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

THE BUDGET AND THE FINANCIAL DEBATE. The presentation by the Minister of Finance of his Budget, or Financial Statement, is the most eagerly awaited event of the session. The Budget which is usually introduced at 7.30 p.m. on a Thursday, reviews the state of the national accounts and indicates the Government's financial policy for the current year. Accompanying the Budget are the annual estimates of expenditure indicating the amounts required for each department or service. The debate on the Budget is the main debate of the session and is in the nature of a national audit. Under the present procedure when the House meets at 7.30 p.m. the Minister of Finance presents the Appropriation Bill (whose Schedules incorporate the totals set out in the various Votes in the estimates) and after its first reading, which is purely formal, he moves that the Bill be now read a second time and addressing himself to that motion reads his Budget. This task completed the Budget and the estimates are tabled and copies released to members. The debate is then adjourned until 7.30 p.m. on the following Tuesday when the Leader of the Opposition offers his criticism of the Government's financial and taxation proposals. He is entitled to speak for 40 minutes as is the Minister or Government member next speaking. All other speakers may speak for 30 minutes and they too may range far and wide over every aspect of Government administration. When the debate, which usually extends over 2 weeks, concludes, the House goes into committee on the Appropriation Bill with the chairman presiding to consider and approve the estimates of expenditure, i.e., to grant the money sought by the Government and set out in the estimates.

Some public expenditure (e.g., salaries of Judges and members of the House) is charged directly on the Consolidated Fund or public purse. The bulk of expenditure, however, is provided for out of moneys voted annually by Parliament in the form of estimates of expenditure. These are carefully prepared by departments and critically examined by Treasury before being presented to the House. They are then carefully examined by the Public Expenditure Committee (a Select Committee) before being discussed and voted by a Committee of the Whole House.

When discussing a Vote or class of estimates in Committee of the Whole House or when speaking to a motion to reduce that Vote each member may make four 5-minute speeches. The Minister in charge of a class of estimates is not, however, restricted as to the number of times he may speak. By custom the Legislative Vote (for which the Prime Minister as Minister in charge is responsible and which provides the moneys necessary for the servicing of Parliament, its buildings, and grounds) is taken first. Subject to their prior clearance by the Public Expenditure Committee and the tabling of the relevant departmental reports other classes are taken according to the precedence of Ministers. The examination and passing of these estimates affords opportunity for critically examining the Government's administration and for discussing the policy of the Government reflected in the class of estimates then under discussion. Should a member desire to record a protest, he does so by moving that the sum proposed to be granted be reduced by the sum of, say, $10.

In 1972 the House decided to allot a fixed number of sitting days for the consideration of the main estimates and fixed the number at 16. The arrangement which is somewhat similar to that of the British House of Commons has advantages both for the Opposition and for the Government. The Opposition may choose the Votes on which its members desire to direct their criticism while the Government is assured that if on the last allotted day any Votes have not been disposed of the chairman shall have the power to propose as the one question that such outstanding Votes be agreed to and such question shall be decided without amendment or debate. When all the various Votes have been passed the sums voted are "appropriated" to the particular objects for which they were allocated. The Appropriation Bill is the Government's statutory authority for the expenditure of the moneys voted by the House. When later the Government desires to spend these moneys the Governor-General signs a warrant authorising the issue of the sums required but he does not do so until he has been provided with a certificate from the Controller and Auditor-General certifying that the issues may be made according to law.

The Public Expenditure Committee which now comprises 10 members has very important functions. As has already been mentioned it carefully examines the estimates of expenditure before they are voted by the House. It is also empowered to sit during the recess to examine the public accounts and accounts of corporations and other undertakings wholly or substantially owned by the Crown, to have the Controller and Auditor-General in attendance, and to examine any matters raised in his report to Parliament or any other matters referred to it by the House.

The supplementary estimates which are introduced towards the end of the parliamentary session, and which make provision for expenditure which was not foreseen when the main estimates were prepared, are also examined by the Public Expenditure Committee before they are debated and passed by the House.

In New Zealand direct taxes like income tax and social security tax are imposed by Bills introduced and passed in the usual manner. Indirect taxation like beer duty, Customs duty, and sales tax, however, is imposed in the first instance by resolutions passed by the House and subsequently validated by Bills founded on those resolutions. These resolutions are invariably introduced by the Government after the tea adjournment at a time when Customs and other offices are closed and by convention are adopted by the House at the same sitting and become operative when the bonded warehouses and other establishments open for business the next day. The interval between the passing of the resolutions and the introduction of the legislation to give statutory effect to these taxation changes provides an opportunity for persons adversely affected to make representations to the Government. Provision also exists under the law for the Government, by Order in Council, to vary the rates of Customs duties or the sales tax exemption schedule where immediate action is necessary for the protection of New Zealand industry or is otherwise necessary in the public interest. Such action would only be resorted to when Parliament was not in session and would require validation when Parliament resumed.

The device of annual appropriation (i.e., the voting annually by the House of the sums required by the Crown) was one of the principal means by which the House of Commons secured control over the Government. Having acquired this control, it then insisted that the spending of all public moneys and the imposition of taxation must be initiated by the Crown or Government alone. This has become a fundamental rule of our constitution.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMME. Most of the Government's legislation is introduced after the conclusion of the Budget debate. Bills are then taken on 2 days a week and estimates on the other 2 days (usually Tuesdays and Thursdays). When the estimates are disposed of, the remaining period of the session is devoted almost exclusively to the consideration of this legislation. Some of the Bills are referred to Select Committees for consideration and report either before or after the second reading debate. This affords an opportunity for interested parties to appear and give evidence. Departmental officers are called, and the law draftsman is often in attendance. Such Bills frequently return to the House in an amended form. Bills of a technical legal character are invariably referred to the Statutes Revision Committee, Bills affecting the Maori race to the Maori Affairs Committee, labour legislation to the Labour Committee, while Bills affecting Crown lands are referred to the Lands and Agriculture Committee.

Of the 17 Select Committees regularly set up at the commencement of each new Parliament some meet frequently and deal with a large volume of business while others like the House Committee or the Library Committee, which deal with domestic or household matters, meet infrequently and as the need arises. Other Select Committees of an ad hoc nature are also set up from time to time to deal with a particular matter, e.g., road safety. The Foreign Affairs Committee and the Maori Affairs Committee each has 11 members while the Lands and Agriculture, the Local Bills, the Public Expenditure, and the Statutes Revision Committees each has 10 members. Most of the remaining committees have seven members. The personnel of Select Committees is selected in proportion to party representation in the House. The committees consider Bills, petitions, parliamentary papers, and other matters specially referred to them (e.g., estimates of expenditure). They meet in the mornings and do not sit on non-sitting days or while the House itself is sitting unless specially authorised by the House.

The work of Select Committees has become increasingly important and it is not unusual for the House to adjourn from time to time during the course of a parliamentary session to free members for work on these committees. The proceedings of Select Committees are normally conducted in private but on occasions when the matter being considered is one of great public interest the proceedings during the taking of evidence are opened to the public and to accredited representatives of the news media. The standing orders require a Select Committee to exclude all strangers while it is deliberating. Much valuable work which largely passes unnoticed by the general public, is performed by members in these Select Committees and a strong case exists for the extension of the current practice of

admitting the public and news media representatives excepting only in those cases where in the opinion of the committee their presence might inhibit the free disclosure of information by witnesses or might not be in the public interest.

Passing a Bill. Government Bills may be introduced on motion without notice. A debate, usually of an interrogative and explanatory nature may arise in which each member may make four 5-minute speeches. An extended debate may, however, develop if the Bill sought to be introduced is of a controversial nature or of great public interest. The introduction of a private member's public Bill follows a different pattern. The member is required to give notice at the previous meeting of the House of his intention to introduce such a Bill and when that notice is called on the following day each member may make one 10-minute speech. After the conclusion of the introductory debate on a Bill the first reading is carried without debate and the Bill is then set down for its second reading on a future day or referred by the House to a Select Committee. In the case of Government Bills the day appointed is "next sitting" day which is any convenient future day. The private member who has precedence over Government business on Wednesdays until that day is taken for Government business must nominate the day on which he desires to take the second reading debate on his Bill.

The second reading is the vital stage, for it is here that the principles of the Bill are affirmed or rejected. The Minister or member in charge of the Bill, addressing Mr Speaker, expounds the principles of the Bill, the reasons for its introduction, and its objects. He may speak for 30 minutes, and may, if the House unanimously concurs, be granted an extension of time. Other members have 20 minutes each. He is followed by an Opposition speaker who critically analyses the provisions of the Bill. Speakers are called in turn from opposite sides of the House, the order of speakers frequently being determined by the Whips after consultation with their leaders. The Minister (or member) in charge of the Bill has the right of reply, but he may not introduce new matter. The debate concluded, a vote may be taken on the Bill.

At the next stage—the committee stage—the House refers the Bill to a Committee of the Whole House (i.e., the House without its Speaker, and with the Chairman of Committees presiding). The Speaker vacates the Chair, and the chairman occupies the Clerk's chair immediately in front of Mr Speaker's dais. On his left sits the Clerk-Assistant, and on his right the Minister or member in charge of the Bill. While the House is in Committee the Mace is kept under the Table, having been placed there by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The proceedings are less formal, speeches are shorter and more frequent, and the discussion and examination of details are facilitated.

The Bill is gone through clause by clause. Members (except the member in charge, who is not restricted as to the number of times he may speak) may speak three times, once for 10 minutes and twice for 5 minutes on clause 1, or the Short Title as it is called, or on any amendment to that clause, and their discussion may range over all the clauses of the Bill. When clause 1 is passed, succeeding clauses are then

taken, but at this stage debate must be strictly confined to the clause then under consideration. Each member may have four 5-minute speeches on each such clause or amendment.

When the committee proceedings are concluded, Mr Speaker is recalled and the chairman reports the Bill back to the House, with or without amendment. The motion to adopt the report on the Bill is now decided without amendment or debate and this stage has become a formality.

When the third (and final) reading stage is taken, debate is confined to the Bill in the form in which it emerges from the committee. The third reading is not usually contested, but if the Bill is a contentious one the third reading affords the last effective stage to register opposition to its passing. Since the abolition of the Legislative Council the House has adopted the practice of deferring the third reading of the Bill so as to afford an opportunity for further consideration or amendment if this should be desired before the Bill finally passes into law.

The third reading being carried, the Bill is then prepared in assent form by the Clerk for signature by the Governor-General, after which it becomes a statute.

In 1972, with a view to saving time and producing more effective debates, the standing orders were amended to provide that where agreement is reached between the Party Whips on the total time to be allocated to a particular debate (e.g., the second reading of a Bill) the agreed time should be indicated on the Order Paper and Mr Speaker should not then enforce the individual time-limits of speech, which would apply in the absence of such agreement and that the debate would be concluded on or before the expiration of such agreed time.

Delegated Legislation. One aspect of Parliament that has given rise to strong criticism (much of it ill informed) is that of "delegated legislation" or the transfer by Parliament to other authorities of the power to legislate. In theory, all laws that bind people as a whole should be made in and by Parliament; in practice, that is quite impossible. Parliament has neither the time nor the knowledge to make all the necessary laws and rules and so must delegate some of its powers. Acts, therefore, frequently empower the Minister (in practice his department) to make regulations for the more effective operation of the Act. The Act will have laid down the main principles or framework and the regulations will provide for details. The regulations, which are made by Order in Council, i.e., by the Executive Council, are required to be laid before Parliament. At times there have been complaints that there is no right of appeal from some of the decisions made under this delegated legislative power by Ministers and officials. An important check was introduced in 1962 when the Statutes Revision Committee of the House was authorised to consider whether the attention of the House should be drawn to any regulation on the ground that it trespassed unduly on personal rights or liberties or made some unusual or unexpected use of the powers conferred by the statute under which it was made. This Select Committee is now empowered to sit during any adjournment or recess and to

require any Government department to submit a memorandum or depute a witness to explain such regulation. The committee may report to the House or the Government from time to time on any such regulation.

The Rules of Order and Debate

When speaking a member must rise in his place and direct his remarks to the Chair and not to other members. He must refer to another member by the name of his constituency or, if a Minister, by the portfolio he holds. All debate must be relevant to the motion under discussion. A member when speaking is entitled to be heard without interruption, a rule relaxed in favour of reasonable, courteous, and relevant interjections. Whenever the Speaker rises the House must be silent. A member has complete freedom of speech and, being protected by his parliamentary privilege, there is no legal restraint on what he may say concerning people outisde the House. The House, however, imposes upon itself rules prohibiting reflections on the Crown the Governor-General, the Speaker, Chairman of Committees, Judges, and others. The imputation of improper motives and offensive or unbecoming reflections upon other members are not permitted. and if made are ordered to be withdrawn, and if necessary an apology is demanded. Any member who refuses to withdraw objectionable words or disregards the authority of the Chair may be "named" by the Speaker and suspended from the sitting of the House on the motion of the Prime Minister. In cases of grave disorder Mr Speaker has power to adjourn the House. Minor breaches of order are checked as they occur by the intervention of the Chair.

Previous debates of the current session may not be referred to lest arguments become interminable. A member may not read his speech, but may refresh his memory from notes. He may not quote outisde comment (except from memory) on matters before the House. He must deliver his own opinions on the subject of debate. A member may not pass between the Chair and the member speaking in such a way as to obstruct the member's view of the Chair, and when entering, leaving, or crossing the Chamber, must bow to the Chair.

If a division is called for, the division bells are rung for 3 minutes after which the doors leading to the Chamber are locked. The question is again put and, unless the division is waived, tellers are appointed and the members are directed into the "Ayes" (to the Speaker's right) or "Noes" (to his left) lobby, where they are counted by the tellers. According to custom, the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition are counted or "told" in the Chamber and do not enter the lobbies to vote. The division lists are then signed and handed to Mr Speaker or the chairman (if the House is in Committee), who declares the result of the division. The decision of the majority is the decision of the House.

The Speaker and chairman have no deliberative vote. When the numbers are equal, they may give a casting vote, which is usually given in such a way as to leave the matter still open for a further decision by the House or committee.

The Member and his Duties

Every registered elector is qualified to stand as a parliamentary candidate if he or she is 20 years or over and is not a detainee in a mental institution or a prison, is not an undischarged bankrupt, a public contractor to the Public Service for a sum in excess of $400, and has not been guilty of a corrupt practice under the Electoral Act. The candidate must deposit a sum of $20 with the returning officer and produce a nomination form signed by two electors whose names appear on the roll for the electoral district for which he proposes to stand.

If elected the member will find he has assumed a full-time job which will make heavy demands upon his time and upon his physical and financial resources. His constituents will seek his advice and assistance upon many matters and he will require to travel frequently through his electorate. He must know the statutes and how the regulations made under them affect his constituents. Representations may have to be made to Government departments concerning social security benefits, pensions, employment, housing, import licensing, the taking of land by the Crown, and other matters. He is expected to be a fountain of knowledge and a counsellor ready and willing at all times to hear representations and to discuss the problems of his constituents. He will have to attend lunches and meetings, party caucuses and conferences, and to deal with a mounting volume of correspondence. If he lives outside Wellington he will be involved in frequent travel to and from Wellington, particularly during the parliamentary session. The demands of the sessional programme with the study of Bills, preparation of speeches, visits to ministerial offices, and State departments on behalf of constituents, attendance at meetings of Select Committees and sittings of the House which are sometimes protracted, as well as finding time to deal with correspondence, impose a strain which not all members can readily sustain. For the Minister of the Crown who carries a heavy responsibility the strain is correspondingly greater. In the case of the Prime Minister the responsibilities and burdens of office are heavy indeed and during the last 50 years five out of the nine Prime Ministers have died in office or shortly after retirement.

What are the compensations? There is the satisfaction of rendering public service. The member acquires a prestige within the community. It is a satisfaction too to work in the unique atmosphere of Parliament House and to participate in the process of law making. The amenities of the House, of Bellamy's and of the General Assembly Library are available to the member. His financial rewards are not high. His salary and allowances are lower than those paid to Australian and other Commonwealth parliamentarians. Since 1951 his remuneration has been fixed by the Governor-General in Council upon the recommendation of a Royal Commission which is now required to be set up within 3 months of each general election. In 1972 the New Zealand member was paid a basic salary of $7,604 per annum as well as certain tax-free allowances which are necessary to meet the travel, out-of-pocket, and other expenses arising from his public duties. The 1973 Royal Commission recommended, *inter alia*, that the member's basic salary be increased to $11,000 from 1/4/73.

Members are provided with free air, sea, and railway travel when journeying to and from Parliament or when proceeding elsewhere in New Zealand on official duties. The member's wife receives limited free travel facilities. A free telephone is provided and a monthly stamp allowance is made to enable him to meet that portion of his toll accounts which is not carried by the State and the cost of his telegrams and postages. Official mail may be franked in Parliament House during the sessional period. Limited typing facilities are available to the member together with a measure of research assistance. Free stationery is supplied. One of the biggest problems for the member, apart from his daily correspondence, is his inability to scan, much less digest, the mass of written material that descends upon him from all quarters. If a member completes 9 years' service and is then 50 years of age he qualifies to receive on retirement a pension representing one thirty-second of his basic salary at retirement in respect of each year of service with a maximum of two-thirds of that basic salary. The scheme is compulsory and the member's contribution to the fund is 11 percent of his basic salary. Where a male member dies leaving a widow she becomes entitled, during her widowhood, to receive an annuity of one-half of the retiring allowance to which her husband would have been entitled. The retiring allowance of a Minister of the Crown, the Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition, and others who are paid substantially higher salaries is nevertheless the same as that paid to the private member and their contribution is the equivalent of 11 percent of the private member's basic salary. The Civil List Amendment Act 1964, however, provided for the payment of an annuity of $400 to a retiring Prime Minister who has held the office for at least 2 years but with a maximum payment of $2,000 per annum. His widow's entitlement is one-half of the annuity.*

All members of the New Zealand Parliament are members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The first organisation, which was formed in 1911 and was then known as the Empire Parliamentary Association, has branches in most parts of the Commonwealth. New Zealand joined in 1917. The latter organisation, which was formed in 1894, is more widely based and has branches in most countries with a parliamentary form of government. New Zealand members participate in reciprocal exchange visits with other branches of these two parliamentary organisations and attend their annual conferences. They provide a unique opportunity for an exchange of views and enable members to secure information on matters of common concern and to participate in discussions on matters of international importance. For many years the United States State Department has been generous in giving leadership grants to enable certain New Zealand members, nominated by their parties, to visit the United States as guests of that country.

*The 1973 Commission recommended an increased annuity of $1,000 and a maximum payment of $5,000 p.a.

(*A Glossary of Parliamentary Terms appears at the end of this Brochure.*)

II. PARLIAMENT HOUSE

Introductory

The first meeting of the General Assembly established under the Constitution Act of 1852 was held in Auckland in May 1854. Members of both Houses had been summoned by a proclamation issued by Lt.-Colonel Robert Henry Wynyard, C.B., the Administrator of the Government, to meet at noon, on Wednesday 24 May, in a building which had been erected on a site at the corner of Eden and Parliament Streets in time for that meeting. The Chief Justice, William Martin, administered the oath to the members present. On 26 May the House of Representatives elected as its Speaker, Charles Clifford, the Speaker of the Wellington Provincial Council. William Swainson had previously been appointed as the Speaker of the Legislative Council. His Excellency the Administrator confirmed the choice of Charles Clifford and formally opened Parliament on 27 May.

The members of both Houses met in a two-storeyed stone-coloured kauri building lacking distinction and comfort and which was described by Sewell as "a great wooden barn-shaped affair which might serve for a hospital, a gaol, or a barrack, or, if gutted, be turned into a Methodist meeting house". The Legislative Council occupied the lower floor and the House of Representatives the upper floor. This building which was altered and extended from time to time served as the home of Parliament (and of the Provincial Council) until 1864 when it was handed over completely to the Auckland Provincial Council. When the provinces were abolished in 1876 the property reverted to the Government which in 1890 transferred it to the Auckland University College Council. The building continued in use by the university until 1917 when Anzac Avenue was constructed and it was demolished. On 24 May 1956, at an impressive ceremony held outside the Supreme Court building during the course of a special visit to Auckland by members of Parliament, the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. S. G. Holland, C.H., unveiled a commemorative plaque with the following inscription: "In a building on this site, on Wednesday 24 May 1854, the first Parliament of New Zealand assembled. Three days later it was formally opened, with authority to make laws for the peace, order and good government of New Zealand". He then handed to Mr J. H. Luxford, C.M.G., the Mayor of Auckland, an official document setting apart as a reserve for historic purposes an area of land of 1 rood 7.2 perches on the northern side of the Supreme Court building and vesting that reserve in the mayor, councillors, and citizens of Auckland in trust for that pur-

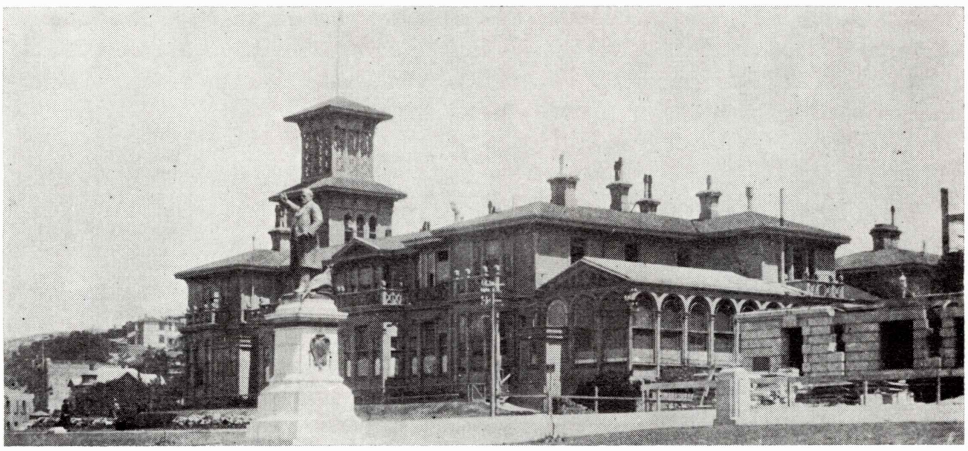
pose. The two pohutukawa trees which grew outside that section of the building occupied by the first Parliament though now somewhat gnarled survive on the site.

The transport difficulties and the inconvenience faced by members from the southern parts of New Zealand were very real and some members were involved in a journey of several weeks when attending sessions of Parliament. Dissatisfaction with Auckland as the seat of Government and the meeting place of the General Assembly increased with the growth of settlement and of population in the south. The matter was raised in Parliament on several occasions and on 30 November 1863 a motion by Premier Domett was carried affirming that the transfer of the seat of Government to "some suitable locality in Cook Strait" had become necessary and that the selection of the particular site "should be left to the arbitrament of an impartial tribunal". On 3 October 1864 a commission comprising the Hon. Joseph Docker, M.L.C., of New South Wales, the Hon. Francis Murphy, Speaker of the Legislative Council of Victoria, and Reginald Campbell Gunn, F.R.S., of Tasmania, unanimously reported "that Wellington in Port Nicholson, was the site upon the shores of Cook Strait which presented the greatest advantages for the administration of the Government of the colony". In February 1865 the seat of Government was transferred to Wellington.

On 26 July 1965 Mr Speaker (Sir Ronald Algie) unveils plaque to commemorate centenary of opening of first session of Parliament following transfer of seat of Government from Auckland to Wellington. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

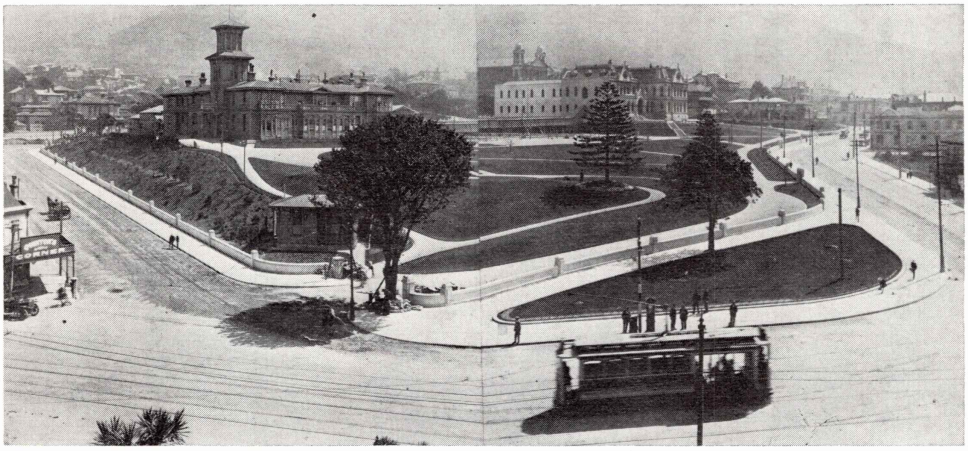
The Wellington Provincial Council Chambers, which had been erected in Molesworth Street in 1859, were enlarged to accommodate the General Assembly, which met there on 26 July 1865. The purchase price paid by the Government for the land and buildings was £8,200. The buildings, which were altered and extended from time to time, housed the General Assembly until destroyed by fire on 11 December 1907. The original portions of this building had been demolished to make way for the present neo-Gothic structure which houses the General Assembly Library. The foundation stone was laid on 13 April 1898, and the building which was designed by Thomas Turnbull, A.R.I.B.A., survived the fire of 1907.

Following the fire, Government House, which was adjacent to Parliament House, was made available for Parliament, and the Governor transferred to a ministerial residence in Molesworth Street pending the erection of the present Government House on the site of the Mount View mental hospital at the southern end of the



Old Government House in 1915. It was first occupied in 1871 by the Governor, Sir George Bowen. The conservatory at the northern end was used as a temporary chamber by the Legislative Council in 1908 and 1909. The adjoining ballroom served as a temporary chamber for the House of Representatives until 24 October 1918. *Turnbull Library Photo.*

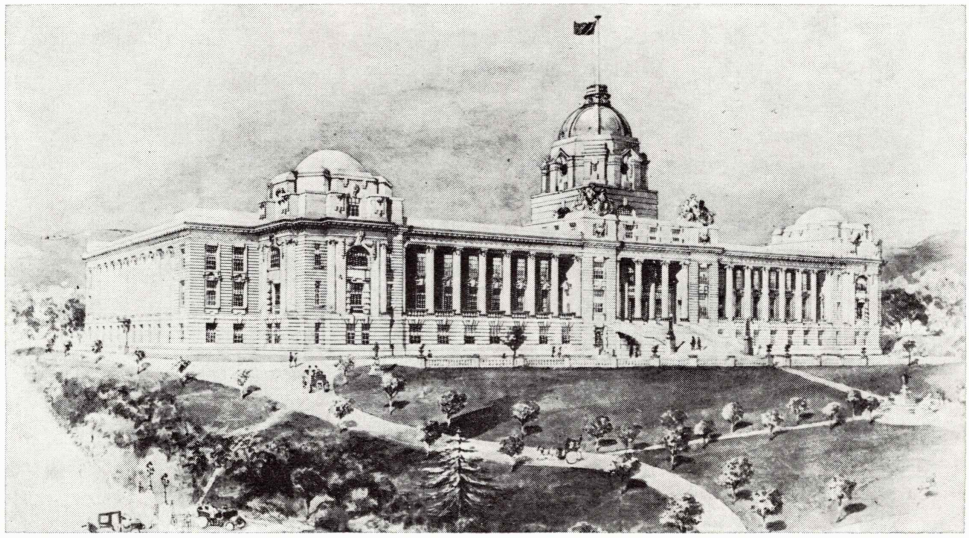
city. The ballroom was converted for use as a chamber for the House of Representatives, whilst the Legislative Council met in the adjoining conservatory until a suitable chamber could be erected for its use at the rear of the building. When this chamber became available in 1909 the conservatory was converted for use as the members' tearoom. The bedrooms and other rooms on the upper floor became parliamentary offices. Old Government House served as the temporary home of Parliament until 1918. For some years it was connected with its parliamentary library by a long wooden corridor which took the form of a bridge as it crossed over Sydney Street. It was on or near the site of this handsome old two-storeyed building designed by the first Colonial Architect, Mr W. C. Clayton for the use of the Governor (Sir George Bowen) and occupied in 1871, that Colonel Wakefield, the agent of the New Zealand Company, had erected his residence shortly after 1840. In 1847 that



Parliament House grounds in 1912 showing connecting bridge or corridor linking old Government House with General Assembly Library. In the left foreground is former Quinton's corner on which the cenotaph now stands. *Turnbull Library Photo.*

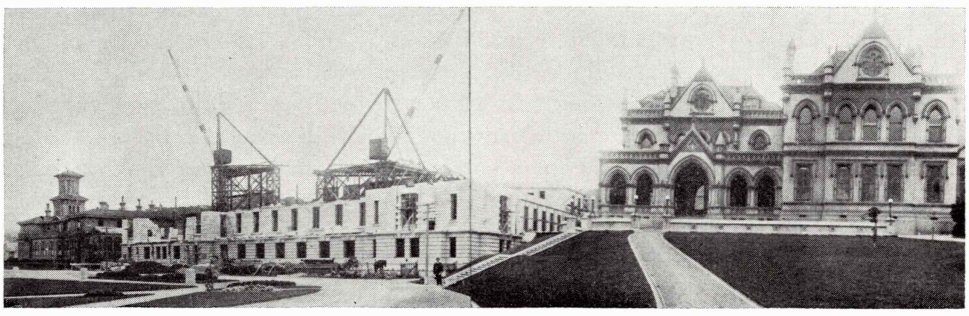
building, altered and extended, became the residence of the Lieutenant Governor. In 1869 it was demolished and the site was cleared to make way for the building designed by Mr Clayton. The Old Wooden Building as it was latterly known, not only provided a temporary home for Parliament but also provided office accommodation for several Ministers of the Crown, for the Law Drafting Office, and some private members. In particular it provided staff rooms, dining rooms, and bars for the parliamentary catering service popularly known as "Bellamy's", a name derived from John Bellamy, who, in 1773, established himself as the first caterer to the British House of Commons. November 1969 saw the demolition of the old vice-regal building which had stood for 98 years and the clearance of the site for the "Beehive" replacement building. Some remnants of the building along the Museum Street frontage were retained for the temporary use of Bellamy's.

In 1911 competitive designs for a new Parliament House were invited by the Government from architects practising within New Zealand. Four premiums ranging from £1,000 to £200 were offered. Thirty-three designs of a "high average order of merit" were received. Colonel W. L. Vernon, formerly Government Architect of New South Wales, was appointed to act as assessor and to award the premiums. The plan submitted by John Campbell, Government Architect, and Claude E. Paton, of Wellington, which was awarded first prize provided for a building measuring 395 ft by 243 ft and comprising three main floors and a basement and with a large central tower and dome above the main entrance and with a smaller flanking dome at the northern and southern ends. It was decided to erect a building in the Classic Renaissance style and being a composite of the first and fourth prize designs prepared by Mr Campbell. The Public Works Department (with day labour) cleared and excavated the site and built the foundations and the basement for the first section of this building which was to have a frontage of 226 ft and to be constructed of brick,



Sketch of Parliament House as intended to be built when construction commenced in 1912. Only the northern section was built. The above design appeared for a time on the menus of Bellamy's and on school exercise books. *Turnbull Library Photo.*

reinforced concrete, and structural steel. Externally the lower storey was to be faced with Coromandel granite and the upper storeys with marble from Sandy Bay, Nelson. Lord Islington laid the foundation stone on 23 March 1912 and in December 1913 a contract for £151,639 was let for the erection of the superstructure, the agreed completion date being December 1915. Work on the building proceeded well during 1914. In the following year most of the Coromandel granite facing was in place but there were serious delays in the delivery of marble for the upper floors which was being quarried at Sandy Bay. The bronze statue of Mr Seddon was erected on its pedestal opposite the main entrance during the year. In 1916 steel supplies became difficult but the supply of marble improved and the internal brickwork on the chambers and other rooms and corridors was completed up to wallheads and some roof coverings were completed. Steady progress was made by the contractor during



Early 1916. The central building slowly takes shape. *Ministry of Works Photo.*

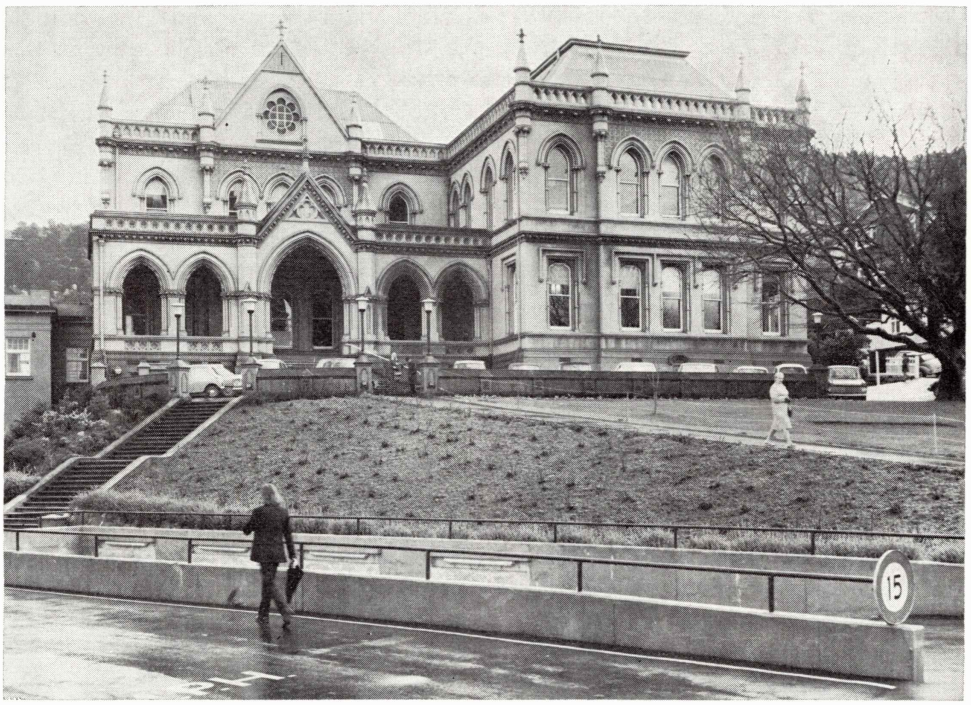
1917 and parts of the building were prepared for occupation during that year and work was pushed ahead to permit of the chamber of the House being used when Parliament met on 24 October 1918. The work on the Legislative Council chamber was sufficiently advanced to permit of its use for the formal opening of the 1919 session of Parliament after which Legislative Councillors promptly returned to their temporary chamber in the Old Wooden Building to escape the noises of construction and in particular the whine of the circular saws located at the rear of the building for the cutting of the marble. The wooden panelling and the gallery balustrades were completed in 1920 and the roofs were given their second asphalt coating. The Cabinet room (later to become the Executive Council room) and several ministerial suites were also completed. The year 1921 saw the removal of the contractor's cranes, the sealing of the roofs, and the letting of a contract for the marble work in the main vestibule and members' lounge, and for marble tiling elsewhere within the building. The external marble work was finished during the year and the Legislative Council chamber, the two Bills offices, and several ministerial rooms were completed. In 1922 a large amount of work, including interior marble work, was carried out and completed in time for the opening of Parliament on 28 June by which time the transfer of the remaining Ministers from the Old Government Building on Lambton Quay had almost been completed. The Public Works Department had remodelled the grounds in 1913 and later built the surrounding walls and fences and erected the ornamental iron gates. In 1914 it had erected a squash racquet court for Members' use in Museum street at the rear of the building and two tennis courts had been laid. Its craftsmen had fashioned and installed some of the interior woodwork, including the Speakers' desks and canopies and the panelling in both chambers and in the Executive Council room. The department installed the electric lighting, domestic telephones, and the bells system and also provided from its own workshops much of the furniture required for the building. The final cost of the building was greatly in excess of the original tender and its construction had taken 9 years and not two years as originally estimated. The country was at war, world prices had soared, skilled labour was difficult to obtain, while at least 2 years were lost when it was found necessary to open a second quarry and construct a long and costly tramway to transport the marble to the sea.

The following is a description of the development and principal features of the three buildings which now comprise Parliament House.

The Library Wing

This handsome neo-Gothic building, situated on high ground along the Hill Street frontage was erected in 1900. It still houses the General Assembly Library which was established in 1858 to provide library services for Parliament. It was designed by Thomas Turnbull, A.R.I.B.A., and its foundation stone was laid in 1898 by the Premier, Right Hon. Richard John Seddon. Being built of permanent materials it survived the fire of 1907 which destroyed the adjoining Parliament House which was of timber construction.

Some of the attractive architectural features of this interesting building are the lofty entrance portico, the handsome main vestibule, the striking stairways with their ornamental and chased brass railings, the tall wooden doors surmounted with Gothic archways, the exquisitely carved wooden work and the fine glass panels. On the ground floor are the Chief Librarian's office, the reference room, the large newspaper reading room, the catalogue and dispatch sections and various parts of the collection. On the upper floor is the main reading room measuring 70 ft by 45 ft, from which entrance may be made to the New Zealand room and to other rooms in which special collections are housed. The Library has four floors of stack rooms as well as



A view of the General Assembly Library which was erected in 1900. It is linked to the main or principal floor of the central building by an enclosed bridge or corridor. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

an attic and a large basement. In 1972 the Library Committee approved plans to demolish a toilet block adjoining the courtyard and to erect on that site and part of the courtyard a two-storeyed structure of 3,000 sq ft to relieve congestion. A receiving, sorting, and dispatching area and a loading dock would also be provided.

The library renders a valuable service to members, Government departments, and the general public, and its collection exceeds 350,000 volumes. It possesses some very valuable private collections and historical documents and has a unique set of New Zealand newspapers. It has a valuable collection of Government documents and parliamentary papers from the Commonwealth and other countries and the docu-

ments of international organisations. The library is the New Zealand library of deposit for publications received under the international exchange arrangement. Under the provisions of the Copyright Act three copies of each book, newspaper, etc., published in New Zealand must be presented to the General Assembly Library. In 1953 the library acquired a microfilm camera and a reader and this equipment has proved most valuable. Among objects of interest in the main reading room is the Parliament clock presented to New Zealand by Mr C. H. Cheeseman, South Croydon, England, and the portrait of Queen Alexandra saved from the fire in 1907. In the main vestibule on the ground floor are several showcases in which are displayed books, documents, and articles of historical or parliamentary interest. Also in this area may be seen the pen with which in 1919 the Right Hon. Mr Massey signed the Treaty of Versailles on behalf of New Zealand. Of particular interest are the seals of New Zealand and of New Ulster and New Munster which were transferred on loan to Parliament following a resolution of the Auckland City Council on 5 August 1954. The same resolution also authorised the loan to Parliament of the Speaker's chair used in 1854 by Sir Charles Clifford, the first Speaker of the House of Representatives. It may be seen in the main reading room on the first floor.

Office accommodation is provided on the ground and first floors for the use of Opposition members. In 1970, to relieve congestion, a prefabricated wooden building containing 11 single rooms was erected at the rear of the library wing with a connecting link with the ground floor corridor. During 1972–73 an additional wooden office building containing 10 single rooms was erected for the use of members at the rear of the library wing. The ground floor also provides a large Opposition caucus room and rooms for the research unit and for the use of typists allocated to the Opposition. Near the main entrance to the library wing are the rooms provided for the use of the Leader of the Opposition and his staff. The room personally occupied by the Leader is the room formerly used during sessional periods by the Right Hon. Richard John Seddon.

In 1953 the entire roof of the library was renewed, and many of the gables which were thought to constitute an earthquake hazard were removed. A modern system of central heating was also installed. The rear portion of the General Assembly Library which is of brick construction and a seismic risk will be demolished when Ministers vacate the central building and transfer to the modern circular replacement building and the private members who at present occupy rooms in this area will transfer to more spacious and better appointed rooms in the central building. The front portion of the library will remain *in situ* as part of the parliamentary building complex.

The Chief Librarian is assisted in his management of the General Assembly Library by the Library Committee, a Select Committee appointed by the House at the commencement of each new Parliament. Mr Speaker is its chairman.

On 30 October 1965 the National Library Act was passed under which the National Library of New Zealand was established and provision made "for the development and extension, where desirable, of the library services provided by or associated with the General Assembly Library, the Alexander Turnbull Library,

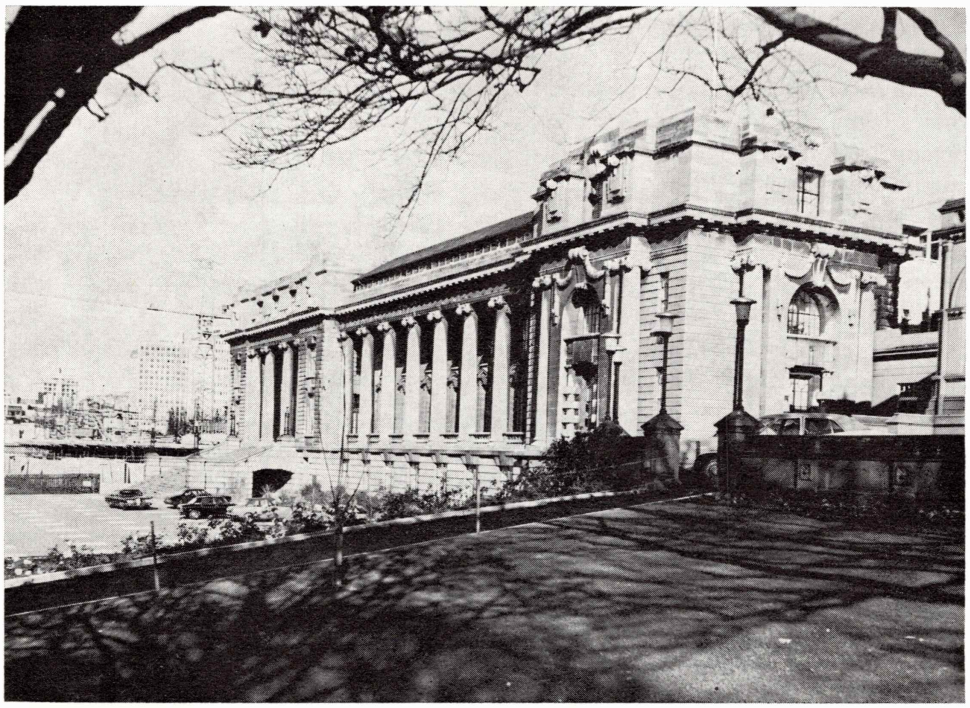
and the National Library Service". The Act also provided for the appointment by the Governor-General of seven trustees and for the election of two trustees by the Library Committee of the House. The Director-General of Education, the Secretary for Internal Affairs, and the Clerk of the House became statutory trustees under the Act. Sir John Ilott was appointed as the first chairman of the trustees. He resigned in 1971 and was succeeded as chairman by Mr A. D. McIntosh, C.M.G., (now Sir Alister McIntosh, K.C.M.G.) formerly Permanent Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and latterly New Zealand's Ambassador to Rome. In his earlier years he served as reference officer in the General Assembly Library.

After protracted negotiations a site adjacent to the present General Assembly Library was chosen and Government approval was given for the preparation of working drawings for a new National Library building to be erected on the corner of Hill Street and Molesworth Street opposite the Anglican cathedral.

The Central Building

When plans were being drawn in 1911 for the erection of this centre block, the congested state of the old Government Buildings on Lambton Quay, which then housed the Ministry, was taken into account, and 10 ministerial suites were provided in addition to the chambers and offices required for parliamentary purposes. The transfer of the Ministry from Government Buildings to Parliament House took place gradually between 1918 and 1922, when the building was completed by the contractor. Parliament House thus become not only the home of Parliament but also the centre of the administration.

The gradual increase in the size of Cabinet, the appointment of under-secretaries, and additional ministerial staffs including a Cabinet secretariat made increasing demands on the limited accommodation within the central building. The position of the private member was eased to some extent in 1951 when some rooms previously occupied by legislative councillors and Legislative Council staff became available for his use. Arising out of the Government's decision in 1962 to replace the old wooden building, latterly described as the Bellamy's Wing, it was agreed in 1966 as a prerequisite to the clearance of the site and excavation for the new "Beehive" replacement building to complete the south wall of the central building and to incorporate within this extension a number of ministerial suites and other offices. The extension was completed in September 1968 and a substantial rearrangement of accommodation took place. Four Ministers and their staffs, and the Law Drafting Office, moved from the Bellamy's Wing into the central building. The temporary bars and dining rooms built in 1944 to replace decayed portions of the old wooden building were moved to new positions opposite Broadcasting House and alongside the rooms vacated by the law draftsmen. A new kitchen block was erected, above which a number of small offices were built for private members previously housed in the old wooden building. A two-storey corridor connecting the temporary Bellamy's block with the central building was constructed at the rear of the Council Chamber.



A view of the central building with its ceremonial terrace (above the underground car park) in the foreground. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

The central building generally had three main floors and a basement. The only permanent accommodation erected by the contractor at the third floor level was the large parliamentary record room at the north-eastern corner of the building and five other rooms immediately above the main entrance, upon which it was originally intended to build the central tower and dome. These latter rooms housed the parliamentary committee clerks and several private members. In 1943 the Prime Minister moved from his ground floor suite to a new suite of timber-framed asbestos cement clad rooms on the roof. The record room was converted to a Cabinet room and the other rooms were incorporated in the Prime Minister's suite. The Department of External Affairs (now Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was also accommodated in adjacent timber-framed asbestos cement clad rooms erected on the roof and the Cipher or Cables Section was transferred from Government House. These additions were extended from time to time to cover the remainder of the available roof area. In 1968 the top floor of the south wall extension provided two additional ministerial suites in permanent materials adjacent to the Prime Minister's Department. The central building had then become a complete four-storeyed building with a basement.

The basement provides cellar space for Bellamy's and for parliamentary and departmental records. Also housed there are the central heating unit, the ventilation system for the chambers, and members' bathrooms. Early in 1943 a bombproof

shelter was constructed for use in emergency by the War Cabinet. It was never used for emergency purposes and later became an additional storage space.

The area immediately below the Maori Affairs Committee room contains several rooms connected by a special stairway with the committee room. These rooms were designed for the use of Maori petitioners and witnesses attending meetings of that committee but they were not used for that purpose. In 1938 they were made available to Mr G. T. Alley when he launched the Country Library Service. The National Library vacated the rooms in 1966 when they were allotted to the committee clerks who service the Select Committees of the House. In 1973 the rooms were taken over by the Government Members' Research Unit.

The increase from 84 to 87 in the membership of the House and the enlargement of the Cabinet from 18 to 20 members posed an immediate accommodation problem. To meet it and provide two additional ministerial suites together with rooms for private members in the central building, the committee rooms on the ground and principal floors were taken over and subdivided. This necessitated the acquisition as an annex to the central building of the former headquarters of the New Zealand Electricity Department in Museum Street with the intention of converting it for the use of Select Committees and parliamentary staff.

On the ground floor are seven ministerial suites, the *Hansard* reporting service, and rooms for the use of private members and for typists serving Government members. A large room is occupied by the parliamentary messengers. The ground floor section of the south wall extension provides a refreshment room for the messenger staff and several offices for the use of the Law Drafting Office whose senior draftsmen are located nearby on the western side of the building.

An interesting room is the Maori Affairs Committee room with its carved doors and furniture, and its walls exhibiting fine examples of Maori craftsmanship. Mounted on one wall is an enlarged photographic reproduction of the Treaty of Waitangi. An English translation of the text appears on the opposite wall. Also mounted on the walls are coloured photographs of the Hon. Sir James Carroll, K.C.M.G., Sir Peter Henry Buck (Te Rangihiroa), K.C.M.G., D.S.O., LITT.D., D.SC., M.D., the Hon. Sir Maui Pomare, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.D., and the Hon. Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata, M.A., LL.B., LITT.D., four distinguished former members of the New Zealand Parliament. A bronze bust of the Hon. Sir Apirana is also located at the northern end of the room. Two other distinctive features of this room are the ornamental ceiling and the painting by Mr S. B. Maclennan, O.B.E., A.R.C.A., on the southern wall of his impression of a Maori meeting house. The carving and the reed work was carried out by Te Kiwi Amohau of Rotorua, one of the paramount chiefs of the Arawa tribe assisted by Te Ngara Ranapia of the same tribe.

On 23 October 1922 a most interesting ceremony was held at the formal opening of this room. It took place in the corridor and was conducted by Mita Taupopoki of the Tuhourangi tribe, Whakarewarewa, assisted by Te Naera Houkotuku of Rotorua and other chiefs. There were various chants or incantations accompanied by appropriate Maori posturings and dances. Firstly came the incantation to free the building

from evil influences, then a chant to clear the meeting house of the tapu, so as to enable ladies to enter it, every Maori meeting house being both a holy house and barred to the entrance of women. The next chant was connected with the implements that were used in hewing the trees from which the timber was obtained for the building; and the final chant related to the laying down of the mats for the building by the women folk. The Prime Minister, Right Hon. W. F. Massey and his ministerial colleagues, together with a large number of members of both Houses, their wives, and others had gathered to witness the ceremony which was followed with the keenest interest. After the chants the Hon. J. G. Coates, Native Minister, addressed the gathering. His speech concluded, Te Kiwi Amohau handed the key of the committee room to Mrs Coates who then entered the room followed by the Prime Minister and other guests. Mr J. A. Young, Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee, made a speech of welcome which was followed by speeches from the Hon. Sir James Carroll, K.C.M.G., M.L.C., the Hon. Sir William H. Herries, K.C.M.G., M.P., and Mr Elsdon Best. A banquet followed in the old temporary chamber of the House (in the old wooden building) at which the Hon. J. G. Coates presided. Appropriate toasts were drunk and the proceedings concluded with a haka led by the Hon. Mr Ngata and in which all Maoris present took part. In addition to the sessional meetings of the Maori Affairs Committee, meetings of the Board of Maori Affairs and other important Maori organisations are frequently held in this room. A convention has since become established that this room, which has a special significance for the Maori people, will not be used for other than Maori purposes without the prior consent of the Minister of Maori Affairs. It was in this room in September 1931 that high-level discussions took place between some of the leading political figures of the day and from which emerged the agreement to form the Forbes (Coalition) Ministry which comprised members of the United and Reform Parties and which survived until 6 December 1935 when the first Labour Government took office.

The principal features on the first floor are the main vestibule, the two chambers, the members' lounge, and the former Executive Council room. From the top of the main steps entry is made to the main vestibule, with its marble floor and marble lined walls, columns, and staircase.

Main vestibule of the central building with its marble floor, columns, and staircase.
National Publicity Studios Photo.

To the left is the parliamentary post office which was enlarged and modernised during the extension of the South wall. To the right is the corridor which runs past the Executive Council room and the Speaker's residential quarters, and connects with the Library wing. The Executive Council room originally designed for use as the Cabinet room is panelled in Canadian walnut and bird's-eye maple timber presented by the Canadian Government. The preparation and installation of the timber was the work of craftsmen in the local Workshops Branch of the Public Works Department. A room in the Canadian Parliament Building in Ottawa is similarly lined with specially selected gift timbers from New Zealand. In November 1969 the Executive Council room became part of a ministerial suite and the meetings of the Executive Council, over which the Governor-General presides, are now held in an adjacent committee room. When His Excellency is unable to preside, the meetings are chaired by the Prime Minister or other senior Minister and to suit ministerial convenience are held in the Cabinet room on the fourth floor of the building. Prior to 1948 the Executive Council room in Parliament House was not used for such meetings while Parliament was in session, all such meetings being held in the former Executive Council room in the Old Government Building on Lambton Quay. The inconvenience for Ministers of this arrangement prompted the inquiry as to whether there would be any constitutional objection to the Executive Council also meeting in Parliament House during the sessional periods. Upon being assured that there were no such valid objections the use of the room in the Old Government Building was discontinued as from 6 July 1948.

Along this corridor, which also gives access to the Chamber of the House, are portraits of New Zealand's Prime Ministers. Inset in one of the window panes in the corridor on the first floor is a mounted section of stained glass recovered from the British House of Commons' Chamber which was destroyed by an incendiary bomb dropped during a German air raid on 10 May 1941.

In the Strangers' Lobby which also leads to the Chamber from this corridor is Richard Halliday's portrait of Sir Winston Churchill wearing the ceremonial robes of the Order of the Garter. The painting was presented to Parliament on 11 September 1958 by Mr R. A. McKenzie on behalf of his late father, Sir John McKenzie, K.B.E., who had commissioned it. The thanks of the House were expressed in a resolution, the text of which was conveyed to the donor by Mr Speaker. Nearby is a representation of the signing, in 1689, of the Bill of Rights by William III which was painted by Mr G. Thompson-Pritchard and presented to Parliament in 1951. The artist, a New Zealander living in California, had been impressed by the importance which Americans attached to their Bill of Rights and was anxious that the New Zealand Parliament should emphasise the greater importance of the English Bill of Rights of 1689 which is also part of the law of New Zealand and Article 9 of which gave statutory confirmation to the privilege of freedom of speech in Parliament. The donor's painting was accepted for hanging and a resolution of thanks from the House of Representatives was forwarded to him.

Across the vestibule from the main entrance is the member's lounge, measuring 90 ft by 35 ft. It is through this lounge that the ceremonial procession of His Excellency

the Governor-General is made to the Council Chamber at the opening of Parliament. This handsome room which contains 5 full-size billiard tables is now frequently used for social purposes and as a delegates' lounge during parliamentary and other conferences.

Chamber of the House. The Chamber, 65 ft by 43 ft, is surrounded by lobbies 10 ft wide. The lobbies on either side are used as division lobbies, to which members retire to vote, the lobby on the right of Mr Speaker's chair being the "Ayes" lobby, and that on the left, the "Noes" lobby. The lofty Chamber, which is lined with native rimu timber, is large enough to provide adequate seating accommodation for the 87 members—it was designed to accommodate 100 members. Each seat, or bench, accommodates two members, and each member is provided with an individual desk.

By way of comparison the House of Commons chamber is 68 ft $\times$ 45½ ft and only 346 of its 630 members can be accommodated at the one time. Its members do not have individual seats nor have they desks on which to write. They are seated on a series of long benches. The front benches are at floor level and those behind are slightly elevated above those in front so that all seated members may have an uninterrupted view of proceedings. All the woodwork in the House of Commons Chamber is of oak (from Shropshire) with the exception of the Speaker's Chair, which is of Australian black bean.

On the upper floor of the New Zealand Chamber, galleries are provided for the use of the public and the press. The gallery immediately above Mr Speaker's canopied dais at the northern end of the Chamber is reserved for the press. Mr Speaker's desk is made of puriri and has a mahogany top, while the columns and the canopy are of oak. The puriri timber for the desk and canopy (both here and in the Council Chamber) was obtained from dismantled bridges in the Taranaki district. As part of the ornamentation of the Chamber, 12 rimu battle honour plaques were affixed to the carved shields on the face of the balcony of the public and other galleries. The intricate carving on this balcony and on the canopies in both chambers was the work of Kurt Kania of Dunedin. The plaques commemorate the great effort and sacrifice of the New Zealand Armed forces in the First World War. In 1963 the list of battle honours was extended to include plaques commemorating the battles or theatres of war in which New Zealand forces were engaged in World War II. Plaques for South Africa and Korea were also included. The full list arranged in chronological order is South Africa, Samoa, Egypt, Gallipoli, Palestine, Somme, Messines, La Basseville, Hebuterne, Passchendaele, Bapaume, La Vacquerie, Le Quesnoy, Atlantic, River Plate, Battle of Britain, Fortress Europe, Greece, Crete, Sidi Rezegh, Alamein, North Africa, Pacific, Orsogna, Cassino, Senio, and Korea.

The layout of the Chamber is in the traditional British style with the Government benches on Mr Speaker's right and the Opposition benches on his left. The cross-benches at the southern end of the Chamber are curved round to meet the gangway leading into the Chamber from this end. The chair at present used by Mr Speaker

is constructed of English oak and upholstered in English greenhide. It was presented to the House on 20 November 1951 by a delegation sent from the British House of Commons to mark the celebration in 1954 of the completion by New Zealand of 100 years of parliamentary government. The delegation which was led by the Right Hon. R. K. Law (son of the late Right Hon. Sir Andrew Bonar Law, Prime Minister of Britain from 1922 to 1923) also comprised Mr D. R. Grenfell (father of the House of Commons) and Mr J. Grimond (later to lead the Liberal Party). The delegation was accompanied by Mr T. G. B. Cocks (now Sir Barnett Cocks and the present editor of *May's Parliamentary Practice*). Two dispatch boxes made of puriri and for use on the table of the British House of Commons had previously been presented by the New Zealand Parliament to mark the opening in 1950 of the new House of Commons Chamber.

At the table below the Speaker's dais are three chairs, that in the centre being used by the Clerk of the House, and that on the left by the Clerk-Assistant. When the House is in Committee the Clerk's chair is occupied by the Chairman of Committees (who is also Deputy-Speaker), and that on his right by the Minister or member in charge of the business under discussion. At the far end of the Table of the House are the brackets which support the Mace. While Mr Speaker is in the chair the Mace is above the table, and when the House is in Committee it is placed below the table. The handsome set of wooden trays in the centre of the table is made of selected Samoan timbers and was presented to the House on 8 September 1955 by a delegation from the Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa. The trays house the presentation copies of parliamentary papers presented to the House by Ministers and Mr Speaker. Immediately beyond the Table of the House are two desks at which the *Hansard* reporters sit to take verbatim notes of the proceedings. On the left of Mr Speaker's chair are seats for distinguished visitors and ex-members of the House. On his right an upholstered bench is provided for ministerial secretaries and departmental officers in attendance on Ministers. At the south end of the Chamber behind the bar of the House are two rows of raised seats for members of the public, who are admitted by special ticket. Women were admitted to this area for the first time in 1972.

In the wall on the south-western corner of the Chamber is a glass panel behind which the broadcasting unit is housed and from which the suspended microphones installed in the Chamber are operated. Apart from some limited trial broadcasts by a commercial station of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in the early thirties and which were not continued, New Zealand was the first deliberative assembly in the world to broadcast its proceedings. When broadcasting was introduced on 23 March 1936 selected debates only were broadcast, but before long the House was "on the air" each day from the commencement of its proceedings until the time fixed by the Standing Orders for the rising of the House. Small sound reinforcement speakers are affixed to the benches in which members sit and any member may bring his own amplifier into operation by throwing a small switch. The acoustic properties of the Chamber are not now as good as formerly and these

small speakers were introduced more especially to enable members on the cross benches to hear what was being said in other parts of the Chamber. These units were later installed on the two *Hansard* reporters' tables, in the Press Gallery and in one of the public galleries. When the House sits beyond 10.30 p.m. and goes "off the air" the Broadcasting officials maintain these small speakers in operation on a closed circuit for the use of members in the Chamber.

Former Legislative Council Chamber. This Chamber, which is situated beyond the members' lounge and measures 60 ft by 35 ft, was completed in time for the formal opening of Parliament in 1919. It is lined with rimu panelling and is surrounded on its upper floor by galleries for the press and public. The Table of the Council, the Speaker's desk, the red plush seats and the desks formerly used by councillors have been removed, and the Chamber is now used for the formal openings of Parliament by His Excellency and for meetings of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to which all members of the House belong. In 1956 the Chamber was made available for the Colombo Plan Conference and its subsequent use for international conferences hosted by New Zealand and for other non-parliamentary purposes has greatly increased. Its use for social purposes, including Government and parliamentary functions, became increasingly necessary during the construction work following the demolition of the old wooden building in November 1969. On the carpeted dais at the western end of the Chamber are the two special chairs which were first used on 12 January 1954 when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, accompanied by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, opened Parliament. The honey gold carpet on the dais is similar to that used in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of Her Majesty's Coronation. The chairs, which were the gift of the late Sir Arthur Sims and designed and manufactured in Christchurch, are of Southland beech, enamelled and gilded, and upholstered in brocade with a prominent New Zealand fern motif. The one used by Her Majesty has the Royal Cipher embossed upon it. Behind this dais is a puriri canopy with supporting columns in front of which the Speaker's desk and chair were formerly placed. Mounted in the panelling behind the dais are two portraits by the late Archibald F. Nicoll. The one on the left is of Sir Francis Dillon Bell, who entered the House of Representatives in 1855 and was Speaker from 1871 to 1875. He sat in the first Legislative Council (1854) and from 1877 to 1880. That on the right is of his son, the Right Hon. Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell, G.C.M.G., a member of the House of Representatives from 1893 to 1896 and a member of the Legislative Council from 1912 to 1936 and its leader from 1912 to 1928. He was Prime Minister for a short period in 1925 following the death of the Right Hon. William Ferguson Massey. He was also a Minister of the Crown from 1912 to 1928.

The formal openings of Parliament by Her Majesty in January 1954, in February 1963, and in March 1970 were filmed and on the two latter occasions the opening was also televised. On each occasion the Queen was accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh. In 1970 Prince Charles and Princess Anne also accompanied the Queen. The first opening of Parliament by a Governor-General to be televised was on 20 June 1963.

Also on the first or principal floor are two ministerial suites, offices used by several private members, the Government Whips, and the Chairman of Committees, the offices of Mr Speaker, the Clerk and his staff, and the members' Bill office, from which parliamentary papers and copies of *Hansard* are issued to members. Their sessional correspondence is franked here and collected for posting. Opposite Mr Speaker's office is a striking canvas, painted by H. Linley Richardson, R.B.A., of the Hon. Sir James Carroll, K.C.M.G., standing on the bank of the Wairoa River where he was born. Sir James, a Maori, was a member of the Liberal Administration and one of the most eloquent speakers of that era. For short periods in 1909 and 1911 he was Acting Prime Minister. It is along the corridor on the northern side that Mr Speaker's procession makes its ceremonial entry to the Chamber. On the walls of this corridor may be seen the photographic shields of members of the various Parliaments, and in the lobby at the northern end of the Chamber a bust of Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

On the second floor are eight ministerial suites, the Government party caucus room, and rooms for the press and broadcasting representatives. Some temporary accommodation of timber-framed asbestos cement clad construction was erected on this floor on the northern side of the building in 1938 to meet ministerial requirements. In 1972, 10 additional rooms were erected above the members' lounge for the use of private members. Entry to the galleries of the House and to the balcony above the main entrance is made from this floor. A distinctive feature of the gallery corridor is the fine collection of mezzo-tint portraits of Prime Ministers of Great Britain. On 21 August 1930 the House by resolution conveyed its thanks to the donor, Mr Ernest Makower of London, for the original gift which covered the period 1721 to 1929. Subsequent gifts by the donor or his representative have maintained the collection.

The third floor, as previously indicated, provides two ministerial suites, accommodation for the Prime Minister and his department, a Cabinet room, and rooms for its secretariat. Also housed there is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For reasons of security, public access to this area is somewhat restricted. During 1973 some additional rooms of temporary construction were added to the Prime Minister's suite.

During the day while the House is sitting the New Zealand flag is flown from the central flagpole above the main steps of the central building. It is lowered at 5.30 p.m. and when the House resumes at 7.30 p.m. three white lights on the flagpole indicate to passers-by that the House is sitting. When His Excellency enters Parliament House to preside at Executive Council meetings his own house flag is flown. On 12 January 1954, 12 February 1963, and 13 March 1970 when Her Majesty opened Her New Zealand Parliament the Royal Standard was broken from the central flagpole at the moment of Her Majesty's entry and lowered when New Zealand's Queen left the building.

The "Beehive" Circular Replacement Building—its origin and development

The central building designed in 1911 was in the form of a parallelogram 395 ft by 243 ft with a central tower above the main steps and with a smaller dome at each of the northern and southern ends. Only portion of this building was ever built. The

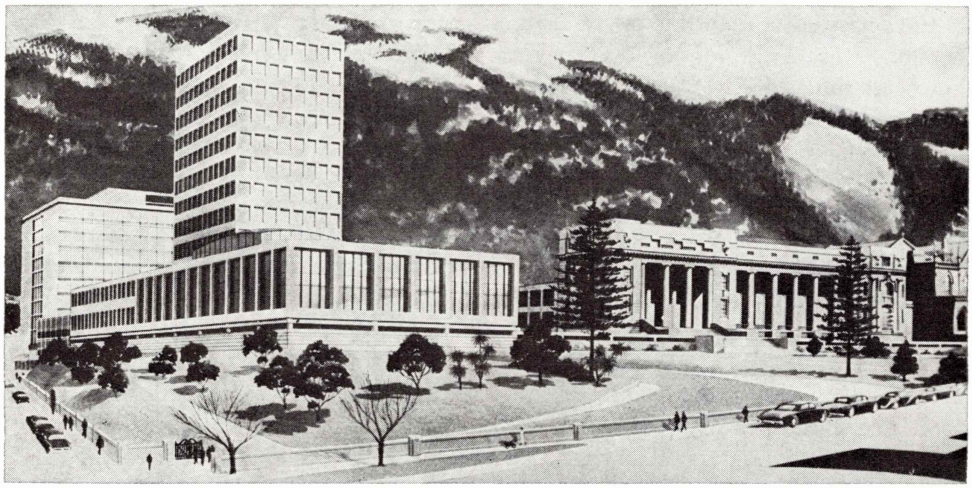
unbuilt southern wing was intended to provide two additional ministerial suites, several committee rooms, some private member accommodation, and to house the General Assembly Library, Bellamy's, and the Law Drafting Office. The principal feature of the library accommodation was to be a large hall 83 ft by 66 ft with tiered galleries to house 150,000 volumes and with an office in the centre of the hall. The galleries were to be served by an electric book-lift. The completed section provided two Chambers for the Legislature with surrounding lobbies and galleries, a large member's lounge, a Government Whips' room, an Opposition Whips' room, sessional residential suites for each Speaker, similar but less pretentious quarters for each Chairman of Committees, a post office, several committee rooms, rooms for the use of the press during sessions, and office accommodation for the parliamentary staff. It also provided limited office accommodation for 10 Ministers of the Crown. The suites provided were not large and generally contained a Minister's office, and two adjoining rooms. Some suites had a small waiting room. They were designed at a time when Cabinet comprised 9 Ministers but when the transfer of the Ministry from the Government Buildings on Lambton Quay was made the Cabinet had increased to 15 Ministers. The upper storey of the old wooden building had to be taken to accommodate four of the additional Ministers and one (the Minister of Health) was accommodated in the Library wing. A limited number of rooms was made available at this time for the use of Legislative Councillors and members of the House on a sharing basis. For many years the whole of the rear area (on both floors) of the Library Wing (including portions of the attic) was occupied by the Department of Health and the District office of the Public Works Department while portions of the old wooden building (latterly known as Bellamy's) was occupied by the External Affairs Department and by the Explosives Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs. It would be unreasonable to imagine that those who planned the building over 60 years ago could have contemplated the vast extension of the activities of the State or the demands which would later be made upon members of Parliament, and particularly upon Ministers of the Crown. It was fortunate, however, that the early planners had sufficient foresight to provide for a House of Representatives Chamber capable of seating 100 members.

In 1938, 20 years after the House of Representatives Chamber came into use the pressure on accommodation in the building had become serious. To meet the problem, and increase ministerial accommodation, two timber framed asbestos cement clad structures were erected on the roof at the second floor level on the northern side of the building between the Government caucus room (originally designated Government Whips' room) and the corridor on the eastern or front portion of the building. In 1943 the Prime Minister's Department moved from the ground floor suite at the northern end of the building to a new suite of timber-framed asbestos cement clad rooms on the roof. The parliamentary record room at the north-eastern corner which was part of the original building was converted to a Cabinet room while the other rooms which housed the parliamentary committee clerks and several Labour Party members, were made part of the Prime Minister's suite.

In April 1939 the Department of Health vacated the rooms in the Library Wing which it had occupied for many years, including those it had taken over from the Public Works Department in 1927 when that Department gave up its rooms. The accommodation released became available for the use of private members and for library expansion. In June 1938 the Inspector of Explosives was found alternative accommodation outside Parliament House and in April 1944 the Department of External Affairs released the rooms occupied by it in the old wooden building. The accommodation situation eased slightly in 1951 with the abolition of the Legislative Council.

Over the years the need for the completion of Parliament House had been urged in the House and in the press. In 1951 the Hon. Mr Holland, Prime Minister, posed the question whether members would support the erection of a new wing at a probable cost of £1 million. On 24 October 1952 Mr Speaker Oram drew attention to the duty of Parliament to complete the central building in a reasonable time. A month later the Prime Minister said "I hope that in the not too distant future we will make the decision to complete the building. I am sure if the public knew the condition of some parts of the old building there would be universal support for the project".

On 24 September 1957 the Right Hon. Mr Nash made a plea for new rooms for members if and when Parliament House was completed. The Hon. Mr Goosman, Minister of Works, agreed that it would be nice to complete the work but there were many other buildings that were more urgently needed. The Hon. Mr Mason who expressed the view that the rear portion of the building was architecturally superior to the front sought, and was given an assurance, that the Bowen State building would not obscure the rear view of the central building. On 28 October 1961 the Hon. Mr Goosman announced that the Government was considering the completion of Parliament House and later released a drawing of a tower-type multi-storeyed



Sketch of suggested replacement building released by the Hon. W. S. Goosman, Minister of Works, on 27 October 1962. *Ministry of Works Photo.*

structure (12 floors) which it was thought could be erected on the site of the old wooden building. Although the building would have provided excellent accommodation for Ministers and eased the accommodation problem which had now become acute the public reaction was quite unfavourable. On 25 October 1962 in reply to a question, the Hon. Mr Goosman said that reconstruction of Parliament House had been under consideration by past Governments and was still receiving consideration from the present Government.

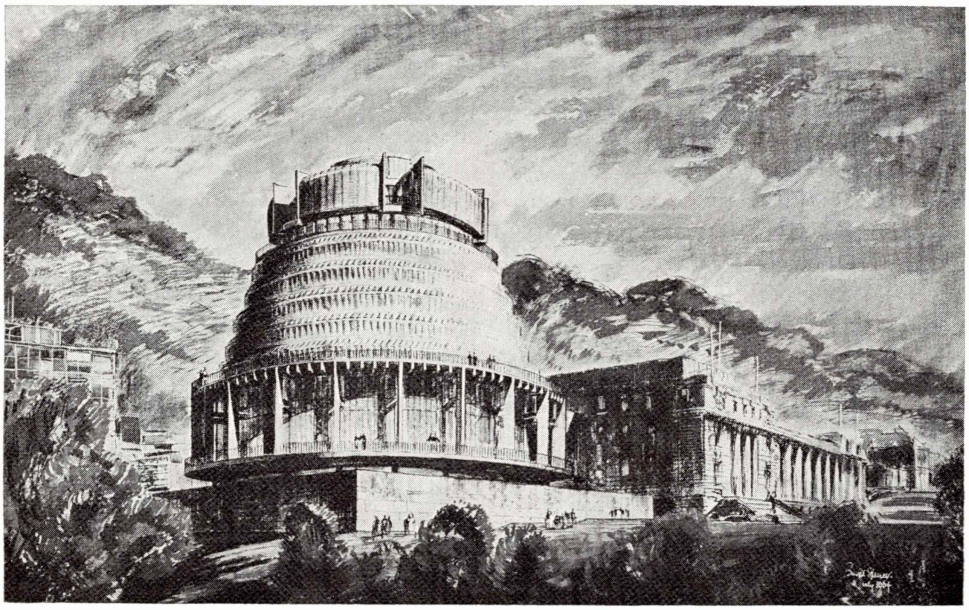
On 17 December 1962—some 50 years after the foundation stone of the central building had been laid—Cabinet agreed that the section of Parliament Buildings known as the old wooden building (Bellamy's) should be replaced at a time to be determined by the Government in the light of requirements for other Government building projects and that a committee be appointed comprising the Prime Minister (or his Deputy) the Speaker of the House, the Minister of Works, the Minister of Finance, and the Leader of the Opposition to prepare for Cabinet a statement of the functional requirements of the replacement building, giving an outline of its ideas on the style and suggestions for the timing of construction. Cabinet agreed that the Committee should be assisted by the Commissioner of Works, the Government Architect, the Clerk of the House, and such other officials as the Prime Minister may designate; the Commissioner of Works and the Government Architect to be responsible for the preparation of preliminary designs and long-term planning and supervision of the work, and that at a time to be recommended by the Committee and determined by Cabinet, a consultant architect of recognised international standing should be retained to advise on preliminary designs including the relationship of the replacement building to the future development of the Government Centre.

On 19 September 1963 the Special Committee invited the Government Architect to prepare sketches indicating alternative forms the replacement building might take and to secure information on similar buildings overseas. The committee agreed that Cabinet should be recommended to approve an inquiry as to whether Sir Basil Spence, O.M., R.A., P.P.R.I.B.A. (who was visiting New Zealand in 1964) could examine and advise on preliminary plans for the completion of Parliament House and its relationship to the Government Centre.

On 29 October 1963 the Prime Minister announced that Sir Basil Spence, the designer of Coventry Cathedral, had been retained by the Government as consultant on the preliminary plans and would extend his visit to enable him to complete that task. On 24 March 1964 Sir Basil Spence appeared before the committee and gave the following views: (a) the clearing of the site by the removal of the central building was far too drastic and was unacceptable, the building should be retained for its intrinsic architectural value and its traditions; (b) the completion of the original design would impose tremendous technical difficulties apart from the high cost and would be contrary to accepted architectural practice and thought. Sir Basil recommended the retention of the existing legislative building and the addition of a new complementary structure of circular design adjacent to but apart from the central building.

On 20 April 1964 the committee examined models and agreed that the concept of Sir Basil Spence be developed to the extent of sketch plans by the Government Architect in consultation with Sir Basil. On 2 September 1964 sketch plans developed by the Government Architect were circulated and discussed by the committee. On 24 March 1965 the committee received and discussed the interim report from the Government Architect who had had discussions in London with Sir Basil. On 8 April 1965 the Government Architect was authorised to finalise sketch plans and prepare presentation drawings. In June 1965, the plans were endorsed by the Government and Opposition caucuses and Cabinet approved the sketch plans and authorised the Government Architect to prepare working drawings and firm estimates of costs for the new building and the extensions to the central building.

On 28 August 1966 Cabinet agreed that stage I of the construction of the south wall extension of the central building, which was left unfinished in 1918, and which was necessary to accommodate Ministers and others from the old wooden building, should proceed between November 1966 and May 1967, and on 10 October 1966 a start was made with the transfer of the post office to temporary quarters in the old wooden building. On 28 June 1967 the committee endorsed the plans for stage II of the south wall including a temporary walkover between the central building and the old wooden building. On 12 October 1967 the committee endorsed minor changes in plans for the circular replacement building. On 4 June 1968 Cabinet approved completion of working drawings and the calling of tenders for stage III of the south wall. This involved the subdivision of the tearoom into two bars and the

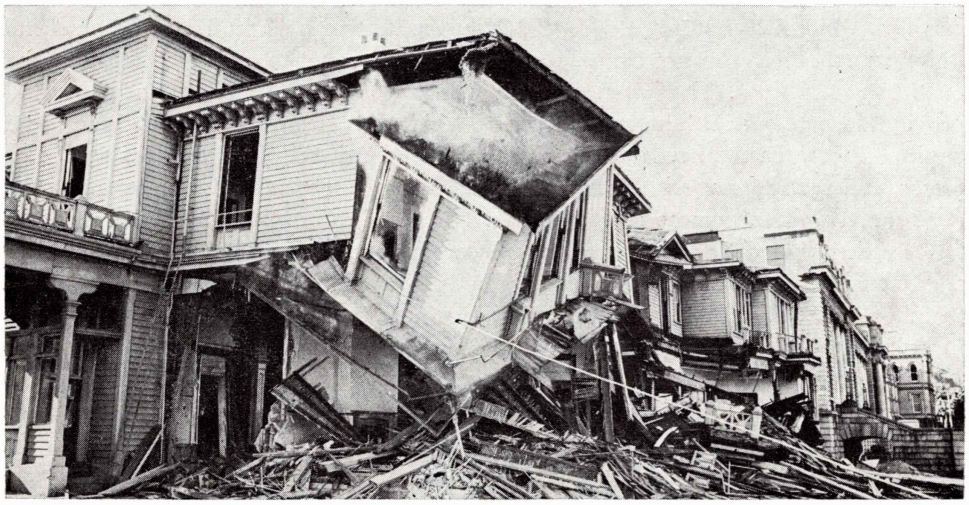


Sir Basil Spence's concept of the addition to Parliament House—a circular building of bold and striking design rising from a rectangular podium. *National Publicity Studios Photo.*

conversion of the temporary post office into a members' dining room preparatory to moving the members' dining room and bars (built in 1944) to the western end of the site and the erection there of a new (temporary) kitchen wing with 13 small offices above it for the use of members. This resited the whole of Bellamy's accommodation at the western end of the site and allowed for the demolition of the front portion of the old wooden building. On 11 September the rooms in the south wall extension became available for occupation. On 14 October 1968 Cabinet endorsed the committee's decision that work on an underground car park and terrace in front of the central building should be carried out as an early part of the contract for stage I of the replacement building.

On 15 October 1969 the Prime Minister, Right Hon. Sir Keith Holyoake C.H., announced the letting of the contract for stage I of the "Beehive" replacement building and Cabinet approval of an expenditure of $1,512,150 (i.e., tender price plus 10 percent contingencies and supervision costs). It covered the demolition of the old wooden building and the timber link to the central building, the excavation for and erection of foundations, together with sub-basement, basement, ground floor slab, underground link with central building, and the construction of an underground car park and ramp. He said the replacement building would bring together all ministerial offices and would provide accommodation for official receptions, State functions, and dining rooms for members and official guests. This accommodation would free the whole of the existing Parliament House to serve its proper legislative purpose and provide a great deal more accommodation for members of Parliament.

In November 1969 the front portion of the old wooden building (including the Social Hall which served as the House of Representatives chamber from 1908 to 1918) was demolished and the contractor was able to proceed.

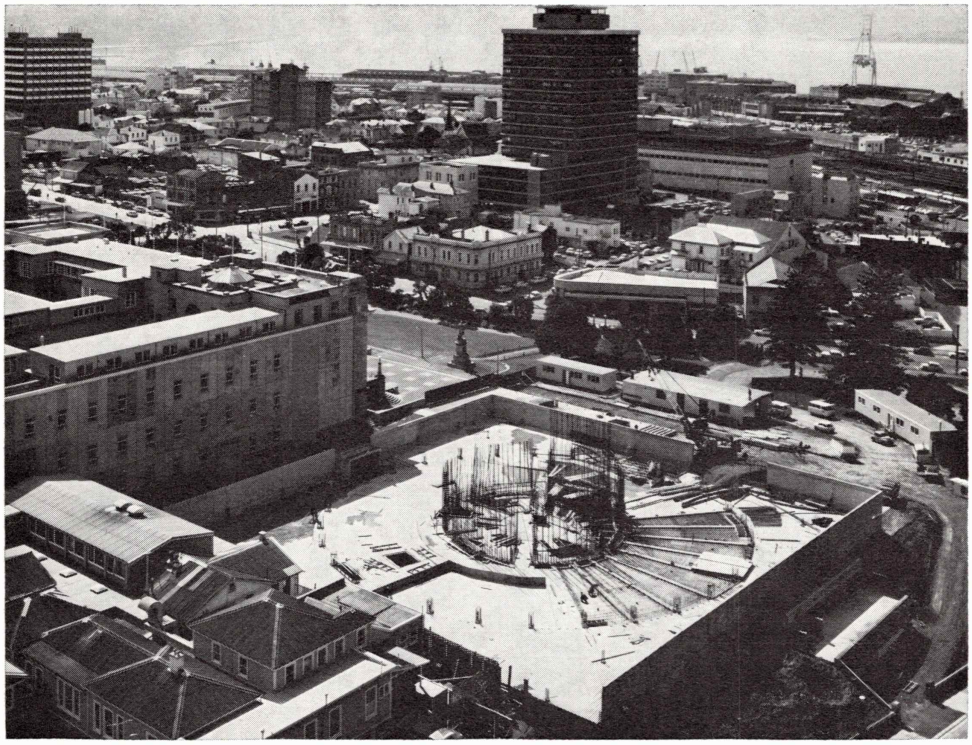


November 1969. Final stage of demolition of old wooden building. The section about to fall was the office vacated by the Attorney-General. *New Zealand Newspapers Photo.*

The underground car park in front of the central building which houses 63 cars became available for use in November 1971. Entry is made by a ramp near the Molesworth Street entrance to the grounds while entry to the central building lift and stairway is made at the basement level. When the "Beehive" replacement building is completed it will be possible to drive from this car park to another at the rear of the new building and thence to Museum Street. The attractive paved area above the underground car park provides a terrace for ceremonial occasions. It has been finished with paving slabs one of a dull grey aggregate and the other a mixture of dull grey and white a combination which blends harmoniously with the central building. The paving of the terrace was completed in time for the opening on 8 June of the 1972 session of Parliament.

In anticipation of the completion in 1972 of stage I of the "Beehive" replacement building Cabinet on 17 November 1971 approved the calling of tenders for the completion of the building and on 29 June the acceptance of a tender for $8,397,000 was announced. Provision was also made for contingencies, the costs of supervision and of Government supplied items.

The height of the "Beehive" building from its foundation slab to the top of the parapet of the viewing deck will be 184 ft 2 in. and to the top of the flagpole 236 ft. Its height above ground floor level will be 160 ft. The massive rectangular podium which measures 272 ft 8 in. by 181 ft 4 in. includes a sub-basement, basement, and ground floor above which a series of 10 drums or circular floors are being constructed. The podium, which was partially completed in 1972, has a pedestrian entrance from Bowen Street at the basement level on its southern side and vehicular access to the main entrance on its northern side. These entrances give access to the structural core of the building in which the lifts, stairways, and service areas will be located. A vehicular entrance from Museum Street on the western side will lead to a basement car park which will be linked with the underground car park in front of the central building. Another entrance from Museum Street will lead to a covered service yard on the ground floor. The basement area will also house the mechanical plant and provide storage space. The sub-basement which has been specially designed and equipped to serve the needs of the Civil Defence National Headquarters was completed and ready for use in November 1972. When fully staffed in emergencies the headquarters will accommodate 92 people. The area is substantially disaster-resistant, has its own independent emergency power supply and water reservoir, and is stocked with sufficient rations to maintain 100 people for up to 7 days. A PABX telephone system with 80 extensions and teleprinter links to its regional headquarters in Palmerston North, Auckland, and Christchurch has been installed. The unit has a direct link with the NZBC broadcasting system and direct radio links with its three regional headquarters. The main entrance to the ground floor on the northern side will give access to a spacious reception foyer from which a grand staircase will lead to the first floor. To the right of the entrance will be a television-radio interview room and a lecture room/theatre to seat 150. In this area will be the passage leading to Bellamy's offices and staff-common-room. On the left will be public cloakrooms,



August 1972. Stage I (sub-basement, basement, and ground floor) of "Beehive" replacement building completed. Remnants of old Government House vacated by Law Draftsmen and Bellamy's temporary kitchen in left foreground. South wall extension of central building in left centre.
National Publicity Studios Photo.

and a staff cafeteria. Also in this area will be the kitchen, stores, and staff rooms. The kitchen will be serviced from a covered yard at the rear of the building with access from Museum Street.

Immediately above the podium will be the main drum which will enclose the first or principal floor with its large reception room for State receptions and the members' dining room, both of which will be serviced from a series of serveries around the central core with food hoists from the kitchen. This lower or main drum will be substantially higher than the upper drums or circular floors above it. It will have a diameter of 180 ft. The first or principal floor will be linked to the principal floor in the central building by an enclosed bridge. The second and third floors which will provide lounges, bars, and other dining rooms will likewise be linked by an enclosed bridge with the second floor of the central building. The fourth to seventh floors inclusive will provide ministerial suites and a number of deputation or conference rooms. The eighth and ninth floors will house the Prime Minister's Department and the Prime Minister's suite while the tenth floor will provide the Cabinet room. On top of the building there will be a viewing deck for the use of Ministers,

members, and their guests. The Cabinet suite and the roof of the building will be sheathed in copper in a form to suggest a crown. The podium will be faced externally with granite. The main structural columns above the first floor level will be clad with a marble veneer similar to that used on the central building. The large fins outside the first to fourth floors and the smaller fins on the upper floors which will be of precast concrete with a surface texture will not only be decorative but will provide shading to prevent undue solar-heat build-up within the building. Some of the walls in the reception area will be lined with marble while native timbers will be used extensively. With the exception of the kitchens and car parks, which will be mechanically ventilated, the whole of the building will be air conditioned. Emergency diesel generators will provide electricity in the event of a power failure. Provision is being made for the floodlighting of the replacement building. The building will be serviced by six lifts, four for public use, one for the use of Ministers, and one for the Prime Minister's use. It is expected to be completed in 1977.

From its position on rising ground above Bowen Street this majestic building will dominate the Government Centre and be its focal point. While it will admirably fulfil its principal function to provide accommodation for Ministers and their staffs, together with state and staff social rooms, it will have a far greater actual and symbolic importance than a mere office block. Sited almost literally at the geographic centre of the country it will be the undoubted centre of the power which will lead New Zealand into the future.

Glossary of Parliamentary Terms

Act of Parliament—A Bill passed by the House of Representatives and assented to by the Governor-General on behalf of the Queen or by Her Majesty in person becomes an Act of Parliament or a statute with the force of law on the date of assent or on such other date as may be prescribed in the Act.

Address—Name given to a communication addressed by the House to His Excellency the Governor-General or Her Majesty the Queen, e.g., on the occasion of the birth, death, or marriage of a member of the Royal Family or on the conclusion of a war, or an address of thanks presented in reply to the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament.

Adjournment of debate—Debate in progress may be adjourned to later hour on same day or to another day. The motion is no longer a dilatory motion and when question is put it must be decided forthwith without amendment or debate. Member who has spoken in a debate cannot then move adjournment unless he be a Whip moving the motion formally prior to adjournment of House.

Adjournment of House—Except in special cases motion may only be moved by a Minister. When moved just prior to time fixed for adjournment by standing orders occasion used for brief exchanges relating to future business of the House.

Adjournment of House in case of disorder—In case of grave disorder Speaker may adjourn House without question put and suspend sitting for a time to be named by him.

Adjournment of House to discuss ministerial replies to questions—Motion designed to provide opportunity on alternate Wednesdays for House to discuss certain oral and other questions (and the replies of Ministers thereto) which House may have ordered to be printed on a special Supplementary Order Paper circulated for that purpose.

Adjournment of House to discuss special subject—The substantive use of the adjournment motion is employed when House discusses a subject on which it is not desired to record an opinion, e.g., the international situation, foreign affairs, etc.

Adjournment of House to discuss urgent public matter—Motion designed to provide opportunity for House to discuss definite matter of urgent public importance of recent occurrence and involving administrative responsibility of the Government and requiring immediate attention of House and Government. Prior notice must be given to Speaker who decides in House whether matter is urgent and motion in order. If not sooner disposed of motion lapses at 5.30 p.m. or 1 p.m. on a Friday.

Affirmation—Members are permitted by law to make an affirmation of loyalty to the Queen in lieu of the taking of an oath.

Allegiance, Oath of—Members are required to take an oath of allegiance or make an affirmation of allegiance to the Queen before taking part in proceedings. The oath or affirmation of allegiance is administered by the Clerk of the House prior to the election of the Speaker. Members not present at the first meeting of a new Parliament or who are returned at a by-election are sworn by Mr Speaker when they arrive.

Allocation of time—A time agreed between party Whips for duration of a particular debate and indicated on Order Paper, and during which speaking times fixed by standing order may be varied.

Allotted days—A maximum of 16 sitting days allotted each session for consideration of the main estimates of expenditure. Any items outstanding on last allotted day may be put by chairman as one question and disposed of without amendment or debate.

Amendment—Alteration proposed to motion, Bill, or amendment. Required to be relevant and to comply with certain other rules of admissibility.

Anticipation, Rule against—Member may not anticipate discussion of matter appointed for a future day.

Appropriation—Allocation of public money for expenditure on some object; requires recommendation of Crown.

Appropriation Bill—A Bill authorising issue from Consolidated Fund of sums voted by Parliament and appropriating those sums to specific purposes for which voted.

Bar of House—Is a line within the Chamber which strangers may not cross and which on ceremonial occasions is marked by a cylindrical brass rod. The bar is raised before Black Rod arrives to summon members of the House to the Council Chamber to hear the Speech from the Throne at the formal opening of Parliament. It is also the place to which in earlier times (last occasion 1898) persons were summoned to be reprimanded or admonished.

Bellamy's—The name by which the parliamentary catering establishment is known in New Zealand. It derives from John Bellamy who in 1773 established himself as the first caterer to the British House of Commons. The House Committee decides the policy to be followed by the manager and Bellamy's Rules are printed for the guidance of members and others.

Bills—Drafts of Acts submitted to Parliament by a Minister or member.

Bills, Local—Drafts of Acts which are public in character but apply to a particular locality only, generally promoted by a local authority with rating powers; Bills require to be publicly notified before introduction and are subject to special scrutiny by Local Bills Committee after introduction.

Bills, Private—Drafts of Acts affecting private interests, e.g., church property, private banking companies, etc. Notification in *New Zealand Gazette* and newspapers prior to introduction by way of petition required together with certain fees payable to General Assembly Library. Bills subject to special procedure including quasi-judicial scrutiny by Private Bills Committee.

Bills, Public—Drafts of Acts of public and general character usually affecting the whole country. Bills in this class usually introduced by Ministers of the Crown. Where necessary to cover any element of appropriation of public monies a Governor-General's message is later introduced. Private member who introduces such a Bill involving an appropriation cannot secure the recommendation of Crown and if not sooner disposed of the Bill will be ruled out of order by Mr Speaker after such second reading debate as may by leave be given by the House.

Black Rod—A polished ebony and sterling silver rod surmounted by a gold lion rampant and bearing on its shield the Royal arms and motto of the Garter. It is the staff of office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod whose principal function is to receive the Governor-General at the opening of Parliament and to convey his summons to members of the House to attend in the Council Chamber to hear the Speech from the Throne. The first holder of the office was appointed in 1892 and he was not provided with a staff. From 1908 to 1931 a black billiard cue was used. The present black rod was presented in 1931 by the Governor-General, Viscount Bledisloe.

Broadcasting—The broadcasting of proceedings of House commenced on 23 March 1936 pursuant to a ministerial direction. The practice has since been formally recognised by the standing orders. Selected debates only were first broadcast but within a short time the whole proceedings were broadcast from 2.30 p.m. until 10.30 p.m. except on Fridays when the hours are 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Budget—Name derives from French word meaning leather bag for carrying confidential papers. It is the annual review by the Minister of Finance of the public finances and the economic position in which he outlines his proposals for adjusting the revenue of the State to meet proposed expenditure.

Chairman of Committees—A member appointed by House on motion of Prime Minister to preside over the proceedings of House when sitting as a Committee of the whole House and without the Speaker. The chairman is also Deputy Speaker.

Charge upon the people—No member except a Minister with the recommendation of the Crown may seek to impose a tax or other burden upon the people. A private member may, however, move an amendment or introduce a Bill to reduce such a tax or burden.

Charge upon the public funds—No proposal for a grant or charge upon public funds may be made without the recommendation of the Crown.

Civil List Act—An Act authorising the payment of salaries and allowances to the Governor-General, Ministers of the Crown, the Speaker, and members of the House. These sums are permanently appropriated by the statute and are not voted annually by the House in the form of estimates.

Clerk of the House—Parliament's chief administrative and accounting officer who is responsible for advising Mr Speaker and members on the rules and procedure of the House and for keeping a record of all proceedings of the House. He occupies a Chair at the Table of the House immediately in front of the Speaker's dais.

Closure—A procedure for closing a debate and enabling the House to decide the matter before it. A member who has not spoken may move "that the question be now put" but he may not interrupt the speech of another member to do so. Unless Mr Speaker or the chairman feels that such motion is an abuse of the rules or an infringement of the rights of the minority the motion is accepted and the question put forthwith without amendment or debate. When carried and the question has been decided any further motion may at once be made to bring to a decision any question already proposed from the Chair or of which written notice has previously been handed in to the Chair.

Committee of the Whole House—The whole House sitting as a committee and with the Chairman of Committees presiding to consider the clauses of a Bill or the estimates of expenditure. Proceedings are less formal than in the House with shorter but more frequent speeches which facilitate the examination of items and discussion of details.

Committees, Select—Committees other than Committees of the Whole House which are set up at the commencement of each new Parliament to deal with matters prescribed by their orders of reference. They normally consist of not more than 11 members nor less than 5 with 3 as a quorum, and the personnel is chosen in proportion to party strengths in the House.

Consolidated Fund—The general fund or pool into which flow the revenues of the State and out of which Government payments are made.

Delegated legislation—The regulations, orders, and rules made by Ministers or departments in pursuance of an Act of Parliament and having the force of law.

Dissolution—The conclusion of a Parliament by Proclamation issued by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister or by the effluxion of time.

Division—When Speaker's opinion as to whether the "Ayes" or the "Noes" have it on any question put by him is challenged the bells are rung for 3 minutes, the doors of the Chamber are locked, and the question is again put whereupon members are directed to the Ayes or Noes Lobby where the tellers (usually the party Whips) make a count and mark the division lists and hand them to the Speaker who announces the result and orders the doors to be unlocked.

Estimates—A bound volume showing the sums of money required by each department of State or service for the ensuing financial year arranged in columnar form showing the amount voted last year, the amount spent, and the requirements for the current year.

Explanatory memorandum—A statement prefixed to a Bill to explain its provisions and objects in simple terms. It is not part of the Bill itself and is supplied for purposes of information.

"*Father of the House*"—The member who has sat in the House for the longest period of years without a break in his membership.

Hansard—The name given to the official report of the parliamentary debates. It derives from the name of the family which for many years reported the British parliamentary debates.

Irrelevance or tedious repetition—The Speaker and the Chairman of Committees have a summary power to order a member guilty of irrelevance or tedious repetition to discontinue his speech. Usually before taking such action the Chair gives an indication of the phrases or references which, if repeated, will bring the member within the rule.

Leader of the Opposition—The leader of the largest Opposition party in Parliament for whom certain special provisions are now made including secretarial and research assistance, travelling facilities, stamp franking privilege, etc. He is seated with his deputy in the front Opposition bench immediately opposite the Prime Minister and his deputy.

Mace—The symbol of the Speaker's authority which precedes him on his entry to and exit from the Chamber at the commencement and conclusion of each sitting and which rests upon a special bracket at the end of the Table of the House while the Speaker is presiding. When House goes into Committee it is placed on brackets below the Table. The mace is carried on the right shoulder by the Sergeant-at-Arms who precedes Mr Speaker. The New Zealand mace is 4 ft long of sterling silver gilded with 18 carat gold and weighs 17 lb. It was presented to the House in 1909 by Sir Joseph Ward and his Cabinet. It replaced the polished ebony and silver chased mace presented to the House by Sir Charles Clifford, the first Speaker, on 3 October 1866, and which was destroyed in the 1907 fire. For the first 11 years

the House was without a mace and pending the manufacture of the present mace a temporary wooden puriri mace was designed by the Government Architect for use during 1908 and 1909.

Misrepresentation—See *Words misquoted or misunderstood.*

"*Mother of Parliaments*"—An expression first used by John Bright in Birmingham in 1865 to describe England and not the House of Commons as is sometimes thought.

Motion—A proposal submitted to the House by a member that the House express an opinion or order that something be done in regard to a particular matter, e.g., "That this House do now adjourn", or "That this House dissents from the ruling given by Mr Speaker on . . . .".

Naming a member—A member disregarding the authority of the Chair or abusing the rules by persistent and wilful obstruction of the business of House may be named by the Speaker who refers his conduct to the House in declaring "I name Mr . . . for disregarding the authority of the Chair, etc., etc.," whereupon the Prime Minister at once moves that the member "be suspended from the service of the House". See also *Suspension of Member.*

Order of the Day—A Bill or other matter appointed for consideration on a particular day. Government Orders of the Day may be arranged by the Government in any order but private members' Orders of the Day are accorded priority on Wednesdays until House decides that Government business shall take precedence.

Order Paper—A paper prepared and circulated by the Clerk of the House before each sitting of the House and showing the business to be placed before the House and the order in which it is to be taken.

Pairs—By a custom of long standing two members of opposed parties who agree to be absent from the House at the same time may with the permission of the Whips be "paired" and thus neutralise each other's votes. Pairs are shown in *Hansard* and indicate the way those "paired" members would have voted had they been present. If a "paired" member finds himself locked in the Chamber he is required to cast his vote as the other absentee member would have voted.

Parliamentary papers—Accounts, departmental reports, statements, and other documents presented to Parliament by Ministers, usually pursuant to some Act. Important papers are printed and all are listed on the Order Paper. The standing orders provide opportunities for discussion of them.

Personal explanation—With the leave of the House a member may explain matters of a personal nature to remove misunderstanding or to justify his conduct which may have been criticised but no debate can take place. The member must confine himself to what is purely personal to himself.

Point of order—Member wishing to draw attention of Speaker or chairman to a breach of order may interrupt the member speaking and rise to a point of order to

seek an opinion from the Chair. Points of order should be tersely stated and promptly decided.

Private member's public Bill—See *Bills, Public.*

Privilege—"The sum of the peculiar rights enjoyed" by the House and its members "without which they could not discharge their functions". It is part of the law of the land and is necessary to enable Parliament to uphold its dignity and maintain its efficiency., e.g., freedom of speech, freedom from arrest in civil cases, and freedom from molestation, etc.

Privilege, Breach of—When any of the rights or immunities of individual members or of the House itself are disregarded or attacked the offence is called a breach of privilege and can be dealt with by the House. When the complaint is raised by a member the Speaker must first determine whether *prima facie* a breach has been made out. He may allow such discussion as may be necessary to establish the nature of the complaint or alleged breach and shall rule forthwith whether a *prima facie* case has been established or defer his ruling until next sitting day. If Speaker rules that a *prima facie* case has been made out, the matter is referred to the Committee of Privileges. If not the House proceeds to its next business. The committee makes its report in due course and the House takes whatever action seems appropriate in the light of that report.

Prorogation—The termination of a parliamentary session by a proclamation issued by the Governor-General proroguing the General Assembly to a named date. Further prorogations follow at specified intervals until a date is fixed for the summoning of Parliament for the next session.

Question, Putting the—Debate may only take place upon a question proposed from the Chair. When debate concludes the question is put.

Questions to Ministers—May seek an oral or a written answer. Notice is given and question is printed on Order Paper. Oral replies are given each day and supplementary questions seeking elucidation of the answers may be asked. Written replies are delivered to members by the Clerk and are printed in *Hansard.* All questions to Ministers must relate to public affairs, proceedings in the House, or to matters for which they are administratively responsible.

Questions to private member—Must relate to a Bill, motion, or other public matter connected with the business of the House of which the member has charge. They are not printed on the Order Paper and are taken after the oral question period. They are not asked frequently.

Right of reply—Accorded to mover of a substantive motion but does not include right to introduce new matter.

Secret session—To enable the House to go into secret session as it frequently did during World War II, a member first draws attention to the presence of strangers who are then ordered to withdraw. The Prime Minister then moves, "That the remainder

of this day's sitting be a secret session". Regulations were promulgated in 1940 making it an offence for any member to disclose what took place during a secret session. A very brief report prepared by the Clerk and cleared by the Speaker is the only evidence appearing in the records of the House of such a sitting.

Speaker's Rulings—The decisions given by Speakers which are collected and published and which serve as a useful body of "case law" for the guidance of members.

Standing Orders—The rules drawn up by the House for the regulation of its procedure.

Supply—The parliamentary term for the money granted to the Government by the House. Parliament votes supplies for the service of the year ending on 31 March. After that date the Public Revenues Act enables the Government to spend one-fourth of the money granted to enable the administration to carry on until further supplies are granted in the next sesssion of Parliament. Until the estimates and the Appropriation Bill are passed temporary supply is granted by means of Imprest Supply Bills of which there are usually three in each session.

Suspension of member—Member who disregards authority of the Chair, or abuses the rules by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House may be named by the Speaker or chairman and then on the motion of the Prime Minister may be suspended "from the service of the House". Suspension on first occasion is for 24 hours, on second occasion for 7 days, and on third occasion for 28 days.

Suspension of sitting—Select Committee sitting is suspended if no quorum be present; if after lapse of 10 minutes still no quorum, committee stands adjourned until its next meeting is convened. The House may be adjourned and the sitting suspended by Speaker in the case of grave disorder.

Suspension of standing orders—Suspension may not be moved unless 40 members be present. Such motion shall not interrupt debate and shall state reasons for proposed suspension. Members other than a Minister may not move motion except to allow some Bill, clause, or other matter of which he has charge to proceed or be dealt with without compliance wholly or in part with such standing orders.

Taxation—Direct taxation, e.g., income tax, social security charge, land tax, etc., is imposed by an appropriate Bill while indirect taxation like Customs duty, sales tax, beer duty, excise duty is imposed in first instance by resolutions introduced and passed by the House at the same sitting and which become effective immediately. They receive statutory validation later.

Television—The formal openings of Parliament which take place in the Council Chamber have been broadcast since 1936. The opening of Parliament by Her Majesty in February 1963 was the first to be televised, the second occasion being in June 1963 when His Excellency read the Speech from the Throne. In 1969 televising of Select Committee proceedings was permitted for the first time.

Tellers—The members nominated by the Speaker or chairman to mark the division lists showing how members have voted in the lobbies. As most divisions are on

party lines the respective party Whips usually perform this task. On certain occasions where a non-party issue is being divided on, the Speaker appoints tellers from the supporters and opponents of the motion and these members may not necessarily be the party Whips.

Title—The Long Title of a Bill defines the purposes of the Bill. It may require amendment if purposes of Bill are extended. The Short Title is the name set out in clause 1 of the Bill by which the Bill may be known or cited.

Unparliamentary language—It is a breach of order to make personal reflections on or improper accusations or imputations against another member or to use abusive language in debate. If member using offensive words will not withdraw them without qualification when requested by the Chair he may be ordered to withdraw from the Chamber or be "named".

Urgency—When urgency in the public interest is claimed by the Government for any Bill, matter, or other proceeding a motion according urgency may be moved by a Minister without notice and the question shall be decided without debate other than the Minister's speech which shall indicate the reasons for so moving. When accorded the Bill, matter, or other proceeding may be proceeded with, and proceedings thereon completed at the same sitting of the House notwithstanding any other order of the House and the time for the conclusion of the sitting shall (where necessary) be deemed to have been extended accordingly. Such a sitting may extend through the night and into the next day. In 1931 a sitting commenced at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday and concluded at 12.10 a.m. on the following Sunday.

Urgent public matter—See *Adjournment of House to discuss.*

Urgent question—May be asked of Minister without notice if Speaker to whom the text must be submitted, considers it one which should be answered forthwith in the public interest. If allowed, question and answer taken after oral question period but no supplementaries are permitted.

Vote—The decision of the House given on the voices or by a division. It may also be used to describe a class of the estimates of expenditure.

Whips—Members who act as party managers and arrange the order of speakers and the order of business and carry out the directions of their leaders and who marshal their members for divisions and authorise the granting of "pairs". They are responsible for party discipline in the House and for informing members of decisions concerning future business. Each main party has a Senior and a Junior Whip. Their status is recognised by the payment to them of a differential salary.

Withdrawal of amendment—May be made by leave of House or committee.

Withdrawal of member—Offending member may be required to withdraw when his conduct is under consideration by House.

Withdrawal of unparliamentary language—Must be made unreservedly and without qualification; the use of words implying a repetition of words ordered to be withdrawn is a breach of order.

Words misquoted or misunderstood—Member who has spoken in debate may be heard again to explain some material part of his speech which has been misquoted or misunderstood but his explanation must be confined to what he actually said and the alleged misquotation or misrepresentation.

Writ—Is a document issued by the Clerk of the Writs and addressed to the returning officer for the return or election of a member of Parliament. In the case of a by-election the direction for the issue of the writ is given by the Speaker and in the case of a general election following a dissolution of Parliament, when there is then no Speaker, the direction is given by the Governor-General. The writ is returned with the name of the successful candidate endorsed thereon and is delivered to the Speaker by the Clerk of the Writs.

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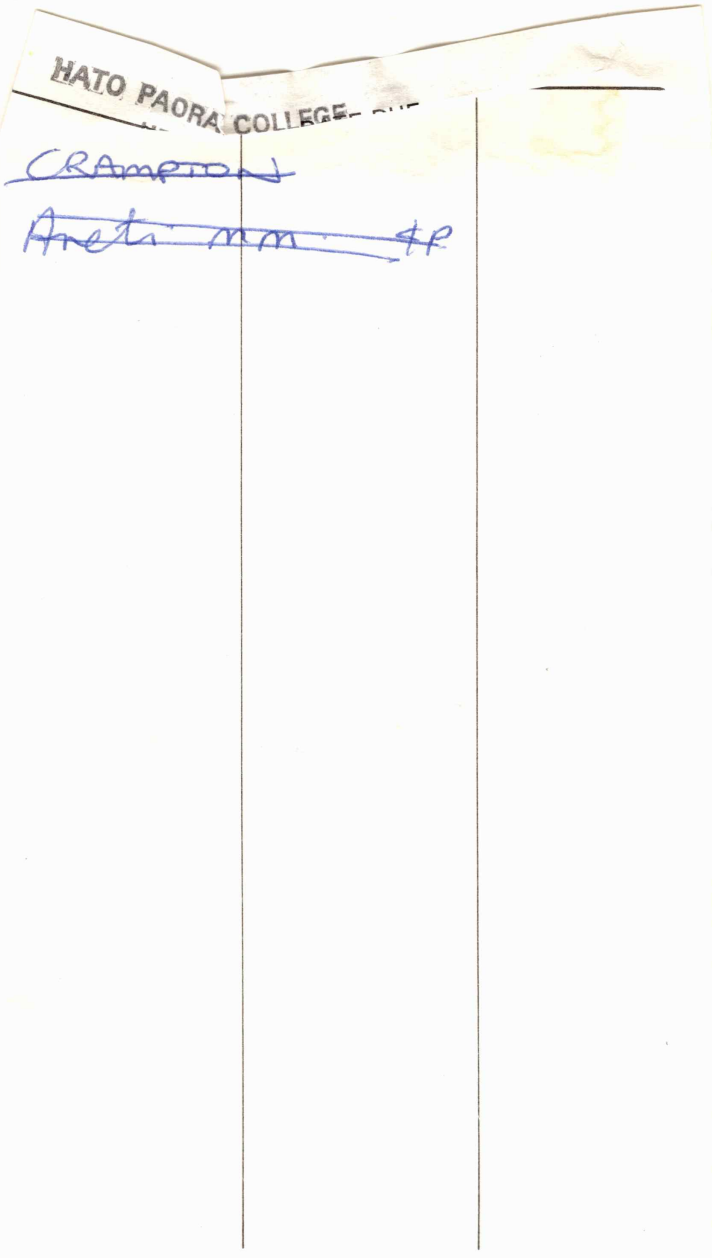
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